COLLOQUIAL JAKARTAN INDONESIAN

James Neil Sneddon

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Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian

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Preface

When I first visited Indonesia as a student I immediately became aware that the way people spoke to each other was very different from the way we were taught to speak the language in Australian schools and universities. Like most young Australians spending some time in Indonesia I picked up a little colloquial language. Convinced that this was how Indonesians always spoke we proceeded to use it – or a very imperfect imitation of it – on all occasions, even in most inappropriate social settings, while complaining that we were not taught Indonesian 'as it is really spoken'. Only much later did I become aware that the language differed significantly according to the social context (a situation known as diglossia). Puzzled that I had not been made aware of this as a student, I came to realise that non-Indonesian teachers of the language were by-and-large unaware of the diglossic nature of Indonesian, while native-speaker teachers of the language either denied the existence of social variation or stated that 'substandard' language should not be taught.

Happily, for some time now, as distinct from when I studied Indonesian, there has been greater willingness among teachers to incorporate some study of colloquial language in their courses. However, they have been hampered by the very limited resources available and, for many non-native teachers, by their own lack of knowledge of everyday speech, having themselves been taught only the formal language.

Thus when I began to collect materials for this study I intended it to provide useful information for teachers of the language, as well as others interested in the language, there being no other detailed description of colloquial speech available. At first I expected to produce a work which parallelled my grammar of formal Indonesian, intending it to be a comprehensive statement of the colloquial speech of educated people living in Jakarta. But as I began to analyse data it soon became apparent that this would not be practical. While one can make a statement of formal Indonesian which omits any reference to the purely informal variety the reverse is not possible. Most of the language, in both grammar and vocabulary, is common to both varieties. Furthermore, even in the most informal social settings some elements of formal speech will at times occur. Thus a thorough description of the informal language would need to incorporate everything that occurs in the formal language as well. Such a description would be of little value, failing to reveal what is distinctive about colloquial speech.

As I examined the data I had collected it became evident that while elements of formal language do appear in informal contexts they do so increasingly rarely as the social situation becomes more informal and, moreover, with considerable variation in frequency between different speakers. I eventually realised that the best way to describe what I call Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian was through an analysis of variation, the relative frequency of formal and informal elements in the speech of individuals in particular social contexts.

The book is not an exhaustive statement of Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian, for reasons mentioned. It concentrates mainly on elements of high frequency where there are distinct formal and informal variants or, as in the case of discourse particles, where there are no equivalents in the formal language. Where a form is rare too little statistical information can be collected to give a useful picture of the relative frequency of competing variants. The description is based entirely on recordings of natural speech in a variety of social situations and the addition of texts, with word-for-word glosses and free translations, provides the reader with extended examples of such speech.

The name *Bahasa Indonesia* is often used for Indonesian by people speaking and writing in English. While this is the name for the language in Indonesian (with *bahasa* 'language' spelled without a capital), it is not used here, for the same reason that when speaking English we do not refer to French as *Français*, or German as *Deutsch*, and so on. While these are the native names, they are not the names in English. Similarly, there is a perfectly good English name for the national language of Indonesia, namely 'Indonesian', and that is the term used throughout this work.

The study was funded by a grant from the Australian Research Council and was carried out in collaboration with Atma Jaya Catholic University in Jakarta. The project owes a great deal to many people for its successful completion. Soenjono Dardjowidjojo and Bambang Kaswanti Purwo, both of Atma Jaya's Language Institute, participated in the planning process and were enormously helpful in obtaining university facilities and introductions to those who could assist me. Uri Tadmore of the Max Planck Institute offered important advice from his own experience of running a project in Jakarta. Yassir Tjung located reliable research assistants and, with his intimate knowledge of Jakarta and its people, was of great assistance in the purchase of equipment, and with insights on the language. Anton Moeliono provided useful advice from his enormous understanding of the linguistic situation in Jakarta and Ibu Ismiari oversaw the project's finances. Many thanks also to Yulianti Kartika Sari, my first research assistant, who got the project underway with her recordings and transcribings of natural speech. In Australia Sander Adelaar, Michael Haugh and Tom Mylne deserve thanks for useful advice. I am grateful to Pacific Linguistics for accepting this work for publication, especially to John Bowden for his support and encouragement. Also to anonymous reviewers, who provided a number of very helpful suggestions.

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Finally my sincere thanks to Tessa Yuditha. As well as the recordings she made of natural speech in a variety of social settings and her meticulous transcriptions she provided valuable insights and explanations on a vast number of aspects of speech which I was otherwise at a loss to understand. Without her contribution, always made with good humour and patience, this work would have been significantly inferior.

Any errors are mine alone and I apologise to anyone who supplied information that I have misinterpreted or misused in any way.

Abbreviations

The following are abbreviations occurring frequently in the discussion and descriptions, in word-for-word translations and in the texts. Abbreviations used by speakers but occurring only infrequently are indicated in footnotes.

CJI	Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian
dim	diminutive
dp	discourse particle
exc	exclamation
FI	Formal Indonesian
H	High style (in Introduction); forms associated with FI
KBBI	*Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* 'Standard Indonesian dictionary' (Tim Penyusun Kamus 1993)
L	Low style (in Introduction); forms associated with CJI
lit	literally
LSM	*Lembaga swadaya masyarakat* 'NGO'
prep	preposition
PR	(pronounced *pe er*) *pekerjaan rumah* 'home work'
RG	*Indonesian reference grammar* (Sneddon 1996)
S1	(pronounced *es satu*) *stratum satu* 'undergraduate study'
S2	(pronounced *es dua*) *stratum dua* 'master's level study'
S3	(pronounced *es tiga*) *stratum tiga* 'PhD level study'
SD	(pronounced *es de*): *sekolah dasar* 'primary school'
SMA	(pronounced *es em a*): *sekolah menengah atas* 'senior high school'
SMP	(pronounced *es em pe*): *sekolah menengah pertama* 'junior high school'
TBB	*Tata Bahasa Baku Bahasa Indonesia* 'Standard Indonesian grammar' (Alwi et al. 1998)
TK, TKK	(pronounced *te ka* [*ka*]): *taman kanak-kanak* 'kindergarten'
x~y	x and y are forms which freely alternate (in a particular context), e.g. *sama ~ ama*
x/y	x and y are L and H variants in a particular variable, e.g. *udah/sudah*
UI	*Universitas Indonesia* 'University of Indonesia'

1 *Introduction*

1.0 Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian

This book aims to describe aspects of the Indonesian language as spoken by educated Jakartans in everyday interactions. This style of language is in many ways significantly different from the formal language of government and education, to the extent that it deserves separate consideration. While formal Indonesian has been the subject of a considerable amount of description very little attention has been paid to informal styles of the language. The variety described here, Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian, is the prestige variety of colloquial Indonesian and is becoming the standard informal style. The description and texts in following chapters are drawn from recordings of natural speech of educated people living in Jakarta.

While the book aims to inform those with a background in linguistics the needs of teachers and learners with little or no knowledge of linguistics is always borne in mind. The work thus does not consider theoretical linguistic issues nor use technical terms which would not be readily understood by most readers.

This chapter deals with the following matters:

- *The linguistic situation in Indonesia*. Indonesian is the sole national and official language of Indonesia. However, there are more than 500 languages in the archipelago and the multilingual nature of Indonesian society is briefly discussed.
- *The sociolinguistic nature of Indonesian*. It is shown that there are significantly different 'high' and 'low' forms of the national language, a situation known as diglossia. While the informal or 'low' variety is the language of the home (usually in addition to a regional language) the formal or 'high' variety is acquired in school. Individuals' competence in the high form therefore depends to a large extent on their level of education.
- *The informal variety used by educated people in Jakarta*. It is argued that this is an appropriate variety of informal Indonesian for study for a number of reasons, particularly the fact that it is becoming a standard colloquial form of the language. Moreover, elements of colloquial Jakartan speech are increasingly appearing in areas previously reserved for formal Indonesian, such as variety shows on television. The difference between this type of Indonesian and Jakarta Malay is briefly discussed.

- *The existence of a continuum between the most informal varieties of Indonesian and the formal language*. People modify their speech according to the social situation, with formal elements increasing in their speech as the occasion becomes more formal. The ways in which Jakartans do this varies from one individual to another. For this reason description of the habits of individuals and generalisations about habits of the group as a whole are important aspects of the description.
- *Attitudes towards different varieties of the language and implications for teaching*. It is common in languages with diglossia for the low code to be regarded as inferior to the high code. Such prejudice is widespread in Indonesia and has implications for education and for teaching Indonesian as a foreign language.
- *The nature of this work and the description of variation*. Much of the description is quantitative, showing the relative frequency of 'competing' high and low forms in various social situations. This is not a comprehensive nor systematic study of grammar. Instead it deals with aspects of Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian grammar which are noticeably different from corresponding structures in Formal Indonesian. This section also discusses the method of recording and describing the language.
- *The recordings and people involved in the study.* The individuals recorded and the social situations of the recordings are discussed.

1.1 The linguistic situation in Indonesia

The nation of Indonesia stretches over thousands of inhabited islands, from Aceh in the west to Papua (formerly Irian Jaya) in the east, with a total population of more than 210 million in 2004. Estimates of the number of languages in Indonesia vary, but a figure of 550, one tenth of all the languages in the world, is not excessive.[1]

The Indonesian nationalists at the beginning of the 20th century were fully aware of the need for a single national language to allow communication throughout the future nation – to comprise all the Dutch possessions, known then as Dutch East Indies – if unity was to be achieved and maintained. The language chosen was a form of Malay, which was already the major lingua franca throughout the archipelago. The Indonesian motto, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity), acknowledges the multiethnic and multilingual nature of Indonesia and emphasises the importance of unity. Since independence, Indonesian has had the status of national language in its true sense, being the sole official language and the language for all government activity, the law and education.[2]

The development of Indonesian as the sole national language and one of the major unifying forces in Indonesia has been described by a leading sociolinguist as a 'miraculous' process whereby the population was successfully 'convinced that a particular outside language should become their own integrative, inter-ethnic, unifying tongue'.[3] It

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1 Determining the precise number of languages in Indonesia is faced with a number of difficulties. One of the main problems is that different researchers have different criteria for deciding whether two regional varieties constitute dialects of a single language or separate languages. This is discussed by Sneddon (2003a:196).

2 Sneddon (2003a) discusses in detail the history of Malay/Indonesian and the language situation in modern Indonesia.

3 Fishman (1978:333).

was an essential element, some say the most important element, in the integration of hundreds of ethnic groups into what is today the fourth most populous nation in the world; 'perhaps the most important single ingredient in the shaping of the modern Indonesian culture'.[4]

For most Indonesians the language of the home is one of the more than 500 regional languages of the archipelago. For such people, the linguistic situation is complex, with informal Indonesian used for communication with people from other ethnic groups, sometimes alongside other, more local, lingua francas. For an ever-increasing number of people, especially in cities, the everyday language, including language of the home, is Indonesian. The national census of 1990 showed almost 99% of urban males and almost 97% of urban females under 50 years of age could speak Indonesian.[5] Many millions, especially in Jakarta, are now essentially monolingual, speaking only Indonesian.

1.2 The sociolinguistic nature of Indonesian

The Indonesian language has significantly different 'high' and 'low' varieties, a situation known as diglossia.[6] Charles Ferguson, who first described the concept of diglossia, defined it as 'a relatively stable language situation in which ... there is a very divergent, highly codified superposed variety … which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation'.[7] He labelled this the high variety (abbreviated to H); the variety used in everyday situations he called the low variety (abbreviated to L). Formal Indonesian, the H variety in Indonesia, is the language of government and administration and of formal situations (such as speeches, lectures and writing). It is by and large the language of the mass media (television and radio, newspapers and magazines) and of most novels. It is the medium of education at all levels and is expected to be mastered by educated Indonesians. Formal Indonesian, which is usually referred to as Standard Indonesian, is learned at school, most children having little or no contact with it until they begin their education. Proficiency in Formal Indonesian is a mark of a person's level of education.

Formal Indonesian is to a considerable extent the result of deliberate language planning, a typical characteristic of the H variety in a diglossic language. Even before independence there was work in development of terminology and since independence after World War II a succession of planning authorities has worked on the production of dictionaries and grammars in an attempt to produce a fully standardised language. They sponsor research into the formal language and conduct campaigns in the press and on television for the use of good language. They also advise schools and have had an important input to the nature of the language taught in the education system.

The low variety, informal or colloquial Indonesian, is the language of everyday communication between Indonesians in all but formal situations (although regional languages also play this role, as already mentioned). For an ever-growing percentage of the population it is the language of the home, their natural 'mother tongue', and thus accords with Ferguson's definition of L in a diglossic society. Language planners have

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4 William Liddle, quoted by Errington (1998:4).

5 Steinhauer (1994) presents and analyses census data relating to language.

6 Diglossia in the Indonesian language is discussed in detail by Sneddon (2003b).

7 Ferguson (1959:336)

never shown any interest in informal varieties of the language, either in cultivation or description. These have consequently remained largely undescribed and unstandardised. The official grammar of Indonesian, first published in 1988, includes no description of informal styles of the language.[8] This accords with Ferguson's observation that in a diglossic situation there is a strong tradition of grammatical study of the H form of the language while 'descriptive and normative studies of the L form are either non-existent or relatively recent and slight in quantity'.[9] There has also been very little research on colloquial language from non-Indonesian linguists, although this began to change in the late 1990s, with the appearance of a number of brief studies.[10]

The planning bodies have, however, contributed to the study of regional languages, including regional varieties of Malay – such as Ambon Malay and Manado Malay – which are, to a considerable extent, mutually unintelligible with Standard Indonesian.

1.3 The informal variety used by educated Jakartans

While there is more variation within Formal Indonesian than in standard varieties of western European languages there is a significant degree of consensus as to what is correct usage. The same is not true of informal types of language, among which there is a great deal of regional variation. They have never been part of the language planning and standardisation process nor of education. Ferguson writes: '[…] there is in no case a generally accepted orthography for L'.[11] This again is true of L Indonesian, which is never taught and until recently rarely written; the fact that L varieties have been largely unwritten contributes to lack of standardisation.

Despite this, there are signs of a standardised informal variety emerging. Ferguson observes that:

> In the case of relatively small speech communities with a single important centre of communication a kind of standard L may arise which speakers of other dialects imitate and which tends to spread like any standard variety except that it remains limited to the functions for which L is appropriate.[12]

While the Indonesian speech community is not small and is spread through many islands over a vast area it does have one important centre and Ferguson's observation applies. A quite homogeneous form of L Indonesian, here called Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian, has developed among educated speakers in Jakarta, particularly among those born in the city.[13] Jakarta is not only the major urban population centre in Indonesia but Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian (hereafter CJI) is having an increasingly great influence on varieties throughout the country. Colloquial Indonesian varieties in other centres are more localised and none has anything other than a marginal influence outside its local area. CJI

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8 Hasan Alwi et al. (3rd ed. 1998).

9 Ferguson (1959:332).

10 Among the few studies of informal Jakartan Indonesian is the analysis of some discourse particles by Wouk (1998, 1999) and a brief description by Ewing (2005). Gil (1994) is a brief description of Riau Indonesian, a variety significantly different from that spoken in Jakarta. Englebretson (2003) is a study of aspects of the colloquial Indonesian of Central Java.

11 Ferguson (1959:327)

12 Ferguson (1959:332)

13 Mahdi (1981)

is understood throughout Indonesia due to use in films and television serials and variety shows and through visits to Jakarta by people from other places. One writer gives some of the reasons for the influence of Jakartan Indonesian:

> The role of Jakarta as the capital city where the most powerful, the most wealthy and the most attractive people are thought to live has been important in popularising the language. In addition, the fact that Jakarta is the centre for the mass media (television, film, publishing) has contributed greatly to popularising the lifestyle and values of prestigious social groups — values which are conveyed in Bahasa Indonesia, often the Jakarta dialect. Witness how young people from the regions who stay only briefly in Jakarta nevertheless immediately strive to adapt their Bahasa Indonesia — changes which they carry with them when they return home.[14]

Another has written:

> Jakarta Indonesian has become a separate colloquial style of Indonesian. Although its use was first confined to Jakarta, this is no longer true. it is also used by many students and educated people in other cities, especially by those who have at one time or another been to Jakarta. Students studying abroad use it when talking among themselves.[15]

A standardised L orthography may also be developing as CJI becomes increasingly commonly used in writing, such as in magazines for urban youths and sections for young people in newspapers. In its youth section the prominent Jakarta daily *Kompas* uses somewhat colloquial language, such as *enggak* instead of formal *tidak* 'not'. As its use in writing increases CJI will become increasingly homogeneous and elaborated. As this continues it will lead to greater consensus about acceptable grammar and spelling, leading to increasing standardisation.

CJI is also exerting increasing influence on Formal Indonesian. It has been stated of this variety that:

> It has become a prestige dialect among the urban elite in Jakarta and elsewhere in Indonesia. It often serves as an informal counterpart to the formal and stilted official Indonesian on which it exerts a strong influence. Jakartan Indonesian is increasingly being used in popular literature, comics, popular songs and performing arts.[16]

That Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian is already a standard colloquial form of the language, or is becoming so, makes it an appropriate variety for sociolinguistic study. It is the everyday speech of people with whom most visitors to Indonesia need to communicate. Among them are a growing number who use no regional language and are thus effectively monolingual in Indonesian, a trend which is contributing to standardisation of CJI.

A distinction needs to be made between CJI and Jakarta Malay. While there has been little study of CJI, descriptions of Jakarta Malay, also called Betawi Malay, are available and there is a Jakarta Malay-Indonesian dictionary.[17] Jakarta Malay is sometimes confused with CJI. However, although Jakartan Indonesian has been considerably influenced by Jakarta Malay it is nevertheless distinct from it. Jakarta Malay is the vernacular of the *anak Betawi* 'children of Batavia', inhabitants of 'the old kampungs' of Jakarta, whose families have usually lived in Jakarta for many generations. One writer has shown that the *anak*

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14 Oetomo (1990:71). By 'Jakarta dialect' Oetomo means Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian.

15 Poedjosoedarmo (1982:142).

16 Adelaar and Prentice (1996:678)

17 Studies include Ikranegara (1980) and Muhadjir (1981). The dictionary is by Chaer (1976).

Betawi, who constitute an ever-dwindling percentage of the overall Jakartan population, shift to informal Jakartan Indonesian in the presence of strangers; it is an 'in-group' code and rarely heard by people from outside the *Betawi* communities.[18] Another points out that young families in Jakarta who speak Betawi Malay shift to Jakartan Indonesian 'when they rise socially or have aspirations in that direction'.[19] This shows that the difference is clearly discernible and that CJI is associated with a higher social status. It is the everyday language of the great majority of Jakartans, including the elite and the relatively large educated middle-class.

1.4 The continuum between formal and informal Indonesian

The differences between H and L Indonesian are so great that one Indonesian linguist has remarked that they differ 'to such an extent that an attempt to account for both by a single unified approach would be extremely complex, if not impossible'.[20] Despite this, H and L varieties of Indonesian are not given distinct names as sometimes occurs in situations of diglossia. The H code is given such titles as *bahasa resmi* 'official language', *bahasa formal* 'formal language', *bahasa baku* 'standard language', and *bahasa halus* 'refined language', while L varieties are variously referred to as *bahasa sehari-hari* 'daily language', *bahasa non-baku* 'non-standard language', *bahasa percakapan* 'conversational language', *percakapan santai* 'relaxed conversation', and so on. These are impressionistic labels only, used unsystematically as people attempt to distinguish the types when the need arises. There are no official names to differentiate them.

One reason for this failure to distinguish H and L Indonesian by different names is that there is no clear dividing line between them. While the H and L varieties are associated with the most formal and informal social situations there are intermediate forms, associated with semi-formal contexts. Speakers may make their colloquial speech somewhat more formal by incorporating some features of formal language, for instance if speaking at a meeting or about an academic subject. As the social situation becomes more formal H features appear more frequently. In very formal situations the language consists solely of H elements. That is, in the most formal situations no characteristics of informal language appear. In the following discussion and in the description in Chapter 2, the H variety of Indonesian is called Formal Indonesian (abbreviated to FI) and the L variety described here is called Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian (abbreviated to CJI). The terms H and L are henceforth used for forms (words, aspects of grammar) in the language. H forms are those regarded by purists as 'good and correct' and largely associated with FI; L forms are those which contrast with H forms and are generally characteristic of colloquial speech.

Even in the most informal social situations speech consisting solely of L elements is unlikely to occur in more than short segments, at least among educated speakers; some formal elements will always appear in their informal conversation. The extent to which this is so varies considerably from one speaker to another. Different speakers are likely to mix

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18 Grijns (1983, 1991). Grijns has most insightfully explained the differences between Jakarta Malay and modern Jakartan Indonesian. Wouk (1989) also recognises the difference between CJI and Jakarta Malay, giving examples, particularly in verbal morphology.

19 Oetomo (1990:69)

20 (Halim 1981:7). It was for this reason that I did not include a discussion of colloquial Indonesian in my grammatical study (Sneddon 1996), as noted on p. 2 of that work.

H elements in very individual and therefore unpredictable ways. Any description of CJI must recognise that speakers adapt their speech to the social situation in complex ways. This work accordingly looks at variation in the speech of individuals in different social situations, as well as drawing general conclusions about language use in the group as a whole. This is further discussed in §1.6.

1.5 Attitudes towards different varieties of the language and implications for teaching

In Indonesia the formal language is the prestige variety while informal varieties are regarded as inferior. This is in line with one of the characteristics of diglossic languages observed by Ferguson: 'In all the defining languages the speakers regard H as superior to L in a number of respects'.[21]

The fact that CJI is never associated with education results in negative attitudes towards it. Although teacher and students will speak to each other outside the classroom in informal style this is not heard within the classroom. Able speakers of FI are probably all well-educated and proficiency in it is a necessity for obtaining employment at a professional level. Its association with education, affluence and status contributes significantly to its prestige.

In addition, there are regular calls in the mass media for the use of *bahasa yang baik dan benar* 'good and correct language'. These calls come from people associated with language planning and education but also from others like journalists and politicians (who are themselves rarely models of good usage). There is also a flourishing language advice industry, catering to people who recognise the advantages of improving their ability in the formal language, with radio and television programs, newspaper columns and a constant stream of booklets on good usage. These deal solely with usage in formal situations; as informal situations are not dealt with aspects of pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar specifically associated with L varieties are never mentioned as appropriate. The implicit message is that L is never *baik dan benar* 'good and correct'. One scholar collecting information on informal Indonesian recounts that when listening to recordings of colloquial speech his Indonesian research assistants would state that it was 'bad grammar' and would explain what the 'correct' forms should be.[22]

Because CJI is not associated with education it is usually regarded by native-speaking teachers as inappropriate for teaching to foreign learners of the language and mention of it rarely occurs in published Indonesian language courses. As just one example of the attitude of Indonesians who teach the language, one Indonesian educator has written: 'It is better for a foreign student to err on the correct or even formal side than to employ careless, incorrect or substandard usage'.[23] Here 'correct' is equated with 'formal'; informal is careless, incorrect and substandard. This attitude to what is appropriate to teach to foreigners highlights the lack of prestige of L varieties of the language. As a consequence courses in Indonesian as a foreign language have usually been restricted to teaching the formal language. There are many texts and course works available for teaching Formal Indonesian but until the 1990s there were almost no publications to assist with the teaching

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21 Ferguson (1959:329).
22 Englebretson (2003:11)
23 Sarumpaet (1980:vi)

of informal language. Still today there is very little available.[24] Non-native teachers of Indonesian generally teach only FI, the only variety they themselves learnt. Most have very limited knowledge of informal Indonesian and of the sociolinguistic nature of the language.

Whatever their attitudes Indonesians do use informal language in informal situations. For Jakartans this means CJI. Thus for the foreign learner proficiency in both formal and informal varieties is essential for effective communication. It is also essential to have an understanding of the appropriateness of styles so that each style is used in the correct social contexts. This is of course true of any language, as noted by Ferguson: 'The importance of using the right variety in the right situation can hardly be overestimated'.[25] Yet given the state of the teaching of Indonesian as a foreign language students rarely have any choice but to use formal language in informal situations when speaking to Indonesians.[26]

Confining teaching to formal speech gives a distorted view of actual usage. As just one example, most Indonesian course books mention only *sedang* as a marker of action in progress. Yet in the materials for this study *sedang* occurred just once in conversations, while *lagi* occurred 92 times with the same function (see §2.11.1).

1.6 The nature of this work and the description of variation

This study is confined to the speech of educated Jakartans, for reasons given in §1.4. A full grammar of colloquial Jakartan Indonesian along the lines of a grammar of formal Indonesian is not possible, for a number of reasons.

First, since elements of formal language often occur in casual conversations they would have to be incorporated into the description. A complete grammar of CJI would thus include a description of the formal language, as well as of all the elements characteristic only of informal speech. To 'weed out' formal elements and present only purely informal elements would lead to significant distortion, failing to describe the language as it actually is. For instance, the negative *tidak* 'not' is the only preverbal negative to appear in formal language. If it were eliminated from the description of CJI, with only words which never appear in formal language, like *enggak*, being mentioned, then the description of colloquial speech would not be accurate; *tidak* does occur in colloquial speech, even if infrequently, and its occurrence needs to be mentioned.

Secondly, speakers' competence (their overall practical knowledge of the language) includes much that does not appear even in a very large data base. Thus a complete description of all aspects of their speech would need to be extended through direct elicitation (questioning of speakers). However, this would inevitably lead to some distortion as experience shows that in such a highly selfconscious situation as being asked

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[24] Two teaching texts (Wolff et al. 1992 and Johns 1996) incorporate a limited amount of informal language material. One teaching text, entitled *Colloquial Indonesian* (Atmosumarto 1995), is misnamed, being a course devoted entirely to the formal variety of the language. The TIFL (Teaching Indonesian as a Foreign Language) materials produced at the University of New South Wales and made available to others provide a considerable amount of good informal material but contain no description of this variety. The dictionary of Stevens and Schmidgall-Tellings (2004) is the first dictionary to aim at a comprehensive inclusion of informal words.

[25] Ferguson (1959:329).

[26] Problems in teaching informal Indonesian are discussed by Sneddon (2001).

how they speak people tend to use more formal language. This is particularly likely to be the case in Indonesian because of negative attitudes to colloquial speech, examples of which are given above. It would never be clear whether such forms actually occur in the unselfconscious relaxed conversation of such people. Nor would such elicitation reveal colloquial elements which did not appear in the data base.

This work therefore is not a comprehensive nor systematic study of grammar. Instead it deals largely with aspects of CJI grammar which are noticeably different from corresponding structures in FI. The great majority of elements in CJI, both in vocabulary and in grammar, are the same as in FI. Where, however, H and L elements with the same function both occur in CJI this needs to be described. A description of colloquial language thus needs to show what elements occur and how frequently. The only way to give a clear and accurate picture of language use in CJI is in a quantitative study.

Accordingly, a large number of *variables* are looked at. A linguistic variable is a linguistic item which has identifiable *variants*.[27] For this study the variables of interest are those which have an L variant and an H variant. The occurrence of such variants, where one is H and the other L, is a typical feature of diglossic languages. Ferguson writes:

> … a striking feature of diglossia is the existence of many paired items, one H one L, referring to fairly common concepts frequently used in both H and L, where the range of meaning of the two items is roughly the same, …[28]

Thus there is a variable *enggak/tidak* 'not', where *tidak* is the variant which also occurs in formal style (FI) and *enggak* is the variant which does not occur in formal style; *tidak* is called the H variant, because of its association with the 'high' form of the language, and *enggak* is called the L variant, because of its association with the 'low' form of the language. *Tidak* is expected in formal language and is taught in schools as the 'correct' word, while *enggak* is absent from strictly formal language. However, both occur in CJI. Thus any description which states that *enggak* alone occurs in colloquial speech is inaccurate. What is significant is that *enggak* occurs with far greater frequency than *tidak* in CJI. For instance, in one recorded conversation of approximately 13,700 words *enggak* occurred 265 times and *tidak* occurred five times. An accurate description of CJI needs to reveal such variation. (Variables do not always have just two variants and sometimes the situation is more complex. Thus *enggak* itself 'competes' with several other L variants meaning 'not', as discussed in Chapter 2).

Individuals differ considerably in their personal choices. This is in some ways truer of Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian than it is of English. For instance, there is choice between a number of first person singular pronouns. Some people tend to use *aku* while others use *gua* or *gue* or some other form in particular social contexts. Some switch from one to another in an apparently random way. A study of one person's idiolect (unique way of speaking) may thus in some respects give a misleading picture of how the language is used by the community in general. For instance, in the materials used for this study there are a number of recordings of females in their 20s being interviewed in very similar circumstances. Among these one used *aku* and its possessive form *-ku*, meaning 'I', 287 times and *saya* 13 times [21]. Another used *gua* 302 times, *gue* 26 times and *saya* 134 times [13]. A third used *gua* 39 times, *gue* 301 times and *saya* 7 times [17]. A fourth used *gua* once and *saya* 177 times [16]. A fifth used *gua* twice, *aku* once and her own name –

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[27] Wardhaugh (1998:137–141), among others, discusses the use of variables in sociolinguistic studies.

[28] Ferguson (1959:334)

as a pronoun substitute – 216 times [15]. (See Appendix B5 for details.) A statement of first person pronoun usage of any one of these five people would not reveal the considerable variation which actually occurs in the speech of Jakartans and hence would be inaccurate as a statement of what happens in CJI.

What is needed to reveal such variation is a system which shows how individuals speak but which also allows generalisations to be made about the group. This is made possible by a quantitative study of variables. We can show the variation in the speech of individuals and by aggregating percentages we can make a statement about general tendencies in the community. Thus while it is not possible to predict how a particular individual will speak in a certain social context it is possible to make general statements about the community's linguistic behaviour based on averages over groups of individuals. This requires a large body of recordings of authentic speech from a considerable number of individuals. The present study is based on a corpus of approximately 312,000 words and many individual speakers.

Averaging the use of variants within a variable over the group is open to the criticism that it results in loss of information about the speech of individuals. However, the speech of individuals is also considered here. This study thus allows consideration both of the speech habits of individuals and of the group as a whole. In conversations between three or more people it has not been possible for practical reasons to extract information on individual differences for most variables studied; instead the averages for the 3 or 4 people as a group are revealed. Averaging the results from individuals in interviews and from small groups in conversations and meetings has resulted in the observation that a shift from a more informal to a less informal context results in replacement of L variants by H variants at very different rates from one variable to another, this being one of the main reasons why there is no clear dividing line between informal and formal Indonesian. For example, *gede*, the L word for 'big', occurs almost 89% of the time in informal conversations among young people, with the H variant *besar* occurring just over 11% of times. But *gede* drops off greatly to just under 8% of times in semi-formal meetings. Meanwhile L *aja* 'just' occurs almost 99% of times in conversations and still occurs 55% of times in meetings, more than the H variant *saja*. The quite different fortunes of *gede* and *aja*, especially in semi-formal contexts, shows clearly that there are no distinct stages between the most informal and most formal. Each variable has its own 'history'. We can only make the general statement that as the situation becomes more formal the percentage of L variants in any variable drops.

In very formal language, as in news broadcasts, legal documents and other types of impersonal language, none of the variants associated with colloquial speech occur. This style, FI, is not considered in this study.[29]

Chapter 2 describes aspects of CJI according to the method described above. More details are given in the Introduction to Chapter 3. Chapter 4 contains transcriptions of recordings together with word-for-word glosses and free translations.

1.7 The recordings and people involved in the study

This study is based on 38 recordings made in Jakarta between 2000 and 2002. Details of the recordings are given in Appendix A. In the text these are numbered, [02] to [40],

[29] The grammar of formal Standard Indonesian is described by Sneddon (1996).

for identification.[30] The recordings comprise 16 conversations, 20 interviews and two meetings.[31] A total of 63 individuals participated in recordings. Very few, apart from the two recorders, participated more than once. These recordings constitute the corpus or data base from which data were drawn for the study.

The recordings are separated into five groups: younger conversations, younger interviews, older conversations, older interviews and meetings. The terms 'younger' and 'older' are used loosely here; there is a convenient gap of 13 years between a 34 year old and a 47 year old and this is used to mark membership of the two groups. In the study of some aspects of CJI grammar this five-way distinction is made. For others a three-way distinction only is made: conversations, interviews and meetings. Two recordings, [29] and [34], were of conversations which included 'younger' and 'older' speakers; these were not used where the statistics make this distinction.

Conversations consist of discussions between three or four people. All conversations were between groups of friends. The recorder participated in conversations between younger people but not in conversations among older people. When she participated the recorder began the discussion but it was subsequently unplanned, drifting from one topic to another. The conversations are relaxed and unselfconscious. The language in these can be said to be very informal.

Interviews were question and answer sessions between the recorder and a participant. In all cases the interviewee was someone on friendly terms with the interviewer, important for ensuring a relaxed atmosphere. The interviewee was informed of the aim of recording natural speech and the interviewer set the tone by using informal language herself. In some recordings the interviewee speaks freely, the interviewer/recorder rarely having to prompt or ask questions. In some, however, responses were brief, with the interviewer asking numerous questions. In every case the questions tend to follow from what the interviewee had just said, the series of questions being unplanned following the first question or two. In some cases, even of younger interviewees, there is a somewhat more formal aspect to the speech than in conversations, although the language can be said to be informal. The presence of friends for some of the interviews also added to the relaxed nature of the situation, with occasional good natured comments from those listening and asides to them from the interviewee.

In each of the meetings there were five participants. In one a particular topic was being dealt with, although discussion frequently strayed. The other was a private seminar with active discussion of the topic by all present. Although they had agendas participants had not planned their utterances in advance. Moreover, the participants in each meeting were colleagues who apparently knew each other well. The language in these is consequently quite spontaneous and is markedly less formal than would occur in a public meeting, the recorder being the only outsider present. The language can be called semi-formal. Unlike the conversations and interviews, the meetings were not arranged by the research assistants/recorders; they were scheduled to occur and the assistant had permission to set up the recorder.

Most of the conversations and interviews were recorded in someone's house, place of work, usually an office, or in a public place, such as a coffee shop or university canteen.

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30 Texts [01] and [39] were excluded as being unsuitable for various reasons.

31 While only two meetings were recorded this was felt to be sufficient, given the need to concentrate the study on more informal language. The material in the meetings is sufficient to reveal the shift between L and H variables as the situation becomes more formal.

While recording in such natural settings (as distinct from recording in a quiet, isolated room) resulted in considerable background noise in some recordings it also contributed to a relaxed atmosphere by enhancing the naturalness of the occasion. The meetings were held in university meeting rooms.

Almost all people who participated in the recordings were either born in Jakarta or had moved there at a young age. Only one was a recent arrival, having moved to Jakarta from Central Java four years prior to the recording. With only a few exceptions all had received a university education or were still studying at university. All could be classified as belonging to the middle class socially. By limiting the corpus to the speech of middle class educated Jakartans the intention was to avoid a wide variety of speech types based on social class and regional origin. The corpus thus represents a quite homogeneous body of speech in a number of social situations. Moreover, it is the speech of the most influential group in Indonesia and as such the prestige variety of informal language. The justification for choosing this variety is discussed above. Incorporating speech of other groups, such as less well educated speakers, or speakers in places other than Jakarta, would greatly increase the amount of variation and thus decrease the possibility of drawing meaningful conclusions. Moreover, such people would not be members of the prestige group, whose speech is so influencing other informal varieties.

The youngest person recorded was a 20 year old female interviewee while the oldest was a 70 year old male in one of the meetings. Ages of participants are given in Appendix A.

For all recordings the participants were aware they were being recorded and had consented. Transcriptions were made by the recorders soon after each recording. The recorders were known to all participants and themselves participated in most of the conversations, as already mentioned.

The analysis of CJI in the following chapters is based wholly on the recordings (the corpus). No written sources were used or speech deriving from written texts, such as radio and television broadcasts. Writing is drafted and consists largely of full, grammatically complex sentences, which are not normally characteristic of spontaneous speech. Since colloquial language was until recently almost entirely spoken it is possible that written texts would contain unauthentic material.

Analysis of transcribed recordings was carried out with the aid of the WordSmith concordance program. Statistical information is provided in Chapter 2. The details are given in Appendix B.

2 *The description of Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian*

2.0 Introduction

Chapter 2 discusses aspects of CJI word usage, syntax (sentence structure) and morphology (word structure). The chapter begins with a brief discussion of one particular aspect of phonology and ends with a discussion of the context-bound nature of spoken CJI. As mentioned in §1.6, the description is confined to aspects of CJI where there are significant differences with the formal language. Aspects of word-structure, word order and so on which do not differ appreciably from what occurs in FI are not dealt with here, being described in Sneddon (1996).

In Chapter 2 examples are given as sentences. It is not claimed, however, that people regularly speak in well-formed sentences and attempts to render longer stretches of speech as such face considerable difficulties. In the texts in Chapter 4 the intonation unit rather than the sentence is recognised as the basic unit of speech, as discussed in §4.0.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, CJI is marked by a significant amount of variation, with H and L items both occurring, speakers sometimes switching from one to the other even in the same utterance. Where appropriate the description includes statistical information on the relative frequency of such variants in different social contexts. In this work H identifies variants associated with the 'high' form of the language, Formal Indonesian (FI), and L identifies variants more closely associated with the 'low' informal variety.

When statements are made like 'x rarely occurs' or 'x is common' it should be understood that this refers to occurrence in the corpus only, although it is claimed that the corpus is sufficiently large to be regarded as representative of CJI as a whole.

Reference is sometimes made to the description of FI constructions in Sneddon (1996). This is identified as RG (*Indonesian reference grammar*) followed by the section where the description is given.

In discussion of examples the following conventions are employed: (i) x/y: x and y are variants of a single variable (see §1.6). Usually x is the L variant and y the H variant. Thus *aja/saja* 'just' indicates that *aja* is the L variant and *saja* is the H variant. In some contexts the variants occur in the same style. Thus *sangat/amat* 'very' in §2.23 indicates that *sangat* and *amat* both occur in FI meaning 'very'. Sometimes the slash separates forms that are not members of one variable but are pairs in some other way. Thus *gua/elu* and *aku/kamu* indicate the pair of words *gua* 'I' and *elu* 'you' and the pair *aku* 'I' and *kamu* 'you'. (ii) x ~ y: x and y are different pronunciations of a single form. Thus *gua* ~ *gue* 'I' indicates free variation between *gua* and *gue*.

In examples 'stallers' and 'fillers' such as *ah, ee,* and the like, are omitted (although they are retained in the texts in Chapter 4). Occasionally components of an utterance not relevant to the point being illustrated are omitted from examples. In this case the place of the omitted part is indicated by two dots (..). When an utterance ends abruptly, such as when a speaker is interrupted by another speaker it is indicated by three dots (…).

Where a pronoun is placed in square brackets in translations to examples, such as [he], it does not occur in the example but is clear from the wider context not shown in the example.

Educated Indonesians frequently insert English words and phrases into their speech in both formal and informal contexts. Many are inclined even to use such forms as bases of derived verbs, such as *gua di*-cheated 'I was cheated'. Where words are unassimilated these are written in italics in examples. Some words retain English pronunciation but are so commonly used that they are now recognised as assimilated and are given in dictionaries with Indonesianised spelling, such as *syuting* from 'shooting (of a film)'. Such forms are not italicised in examples.

The following devices are used in the brief discussion below of phonology and spelling: */x/* 'x is a phoneme in CJI (a sound significantly different from all others in the language)'; [x] 'x is is a phone (a sound phonetically different from others)', <x> 'x is a letter or word in writing'.

Indonesian has a standard writing and spelling system, one of the most successful products of language planning.[1] This system is taught in schools and is adhered to by literate people in formal writing. Since each word has its set spelling differences in pronunciation are not indicated. For instance, various words are written with a final <h>, which may be pronounced but in practice frequently is not. Thus *sudah* 'already' is never written <suda>, even though this is how it is often pronounced.

On the other hand, there is no standardised spelling system for informal Indonesian as informal varieties of the language were never considered in language planning. Moreover, in the past these forms of the language were rarely written. When people write down colloquial speech there is considerable variation in their practices. Some apply the conventions of standard spelling as much as possible. Others attempt to write words 'as they hear them'. Thus a colloquial variant of *sudah* is usually pronounced [uda]. Those following standard practise write this <udah>, even though no [h] is heard. Those writing words as they are heard usually write <uda>.

In practice each approach has many problems and inconsistencies. For instance, final */h/*, discussed above, is usually pronounced very weakly. One person may retain it in spelling while another may regard it as too weak to be recorded or may simply not hear it. Thus the spelling <uda> may be misleading as to whether or not there actually is a final */h/*.

Another problem occurs with final */k/*. For many Indonesians this is realised as a glottal stop [ʔ] while for others it is an unreleased [k]. When writing colloquial speech some represent this with letter <k> while some use an apostrophe <'>. Use of an apostrophe is problematic because the same person would use the letter <k> in formal writing, even though there is no difference in pronunciation. Moreover, many Jakartans have a habit of ending some words with glottal stop for a variety of reasons, particularly for emphasis, where there is no */k/* in formal pronunciation or in standard spelling.

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[1] The present spelling system (*Ejaan Yang Disempurnakan*), was introduced in 1972 and is discussed by Kridalaksana (1978) and Vikør (1983).

Sometimes a word is written in a variety of ways. Thus the colloquial word for 'not' may be spelled <enggak>, <nggak>, <engga'>, or <ngga'>. While the word does differ in pronunciation it is likely that at times the spelling does not accurately represent the particular variant being used.

Transcriptions of recordings used for this study were made by the recorders. Despite preparatory discussions they differed in their transcribing habits in a number of ways, an inevitability given the lack of conventions for spelling CJI. Thus final <h> is included or omitted in words like <uda ~ udah> 'already' and <tu ~ tuh> 'that' depending on the transcriber's perception of whether the sound was present or not. In several cases some passages were transcribed independently by the two and differences in perception were apparent.

Spelling in this work tends to follow the spelling used by the transcribers, although numerous changes have been made to the texts presented in Chapter 4, after careful listening to recordings. Also, the spelling has been systematised in a number of minor ways. Final *k* is always written <k>. If a final glottal stop has been used where it does not represent a final phoneme *k*, it is not represented in this chapter. Thus when a speaker says [bisaʔ] for standard *bisa* 'can' this is written <bisa>. Glottal stop in such contexts is indicated in Chapter 4, as discussed in §4.0.

The word for 'not' is spelled either <enggak> or <nggak> (as well as <ngga> and <gak> where these variants occur), and the word for 'already' is spelled <uda> and <udah>. However, when these words are discussed – as distinct from occurring in the texts – a consistent spelling is used. So in discussion of the negative the spelling <enggak> is consistently used: <enggak> and <udah>. Apart from these, decisions as to which spelling to use generally follow the common practice among most Indonesians, as discussed for each relevant section.

Where FI has word-final diphthongs *ai* and *au* CJI almost always has the single vowels *e* and *o* respectively: Thus FI *pakai*, CJI *pake* 'use'; FI *kalau*, CJI *kalo* 'if'. Where FI has the two-vowel sequence (as distinct from the diphthong) *au* it is common for the sequence to occur as *ao* or just *o* in CJI. Thus FI *tahu* 'know' (pronounced [tau] but spelled <tahu>) occurs as *tau, tao* or *to* in CJI; *mau* 'want' occurs as *mau*, *mao* or *mo* in CJI. In such cases the words are written in examples and the texts as they are pronounced.

The mid-central vowel schwa [ə] is usually omitted if not pronounced, although in the standard orthography it is represented. Thus the pronunciation [stəŋa] 'half' is spelled <stenga>, although the standard spelling is <setengah>. Final or medial *h* is not indicated if not heard. Absence of *h* where it appears in standard orthography is very common in speech, in words like *ruma* 'house' (standard spelling <rumah>) and *bawa* 'beneath' (standard spelling <bawah>. On the other hand, *h* is often added to certain words in conversation, sometimes for emphasis, where it is not recognised in FI, and in such cases it is indicated, such as *gituh* 'thus' (standard (*be*)*gitu*).

Examples are provided with word-for-word glosses and free translations. Word-for-word glosses are intended as a rough guide to meaning only. The following conventions are employed:

(i) Where an affix or particle is important to the aspect of grammar being discussed it is indicated in the gloss in italics. Thus:

mainin
play-*in*

indicates that *mainin* consists of a base meaning 'play' and the suffix *-in*. Such indication is not given where it is not important to the point under discussion. The suffix *-nya* has a variety of functions (see §2.8) and is usually just marked as *-nya* in the gloss. Likewise, *-lah* (discussed in RG 3.51–3) is just marked *-lah*.

(ii) A number of particles are glossed *dp* for 'discourse particle'. These are discussed in §3.2. The gloss *exc* is used for exclamations and for the rarely used discourse particles not discussed in §3.2.

(iii) where a phrase or idiom cannot be translated word-for-word, the gloss for the whole phrase is placed in square brackets. Thus:

hafal luar kepala
[memorise]

indicates that the whole phrase *hafal luar kepala* means 'memorise'.

(iv) Numbers are spelled out in the examples but given as numerals in the gloss. Thus:

dua puluh lima
[25]

(v) Where one word in Indonesian needs to be translated by more than one word the words in the gloss are separated by a full stop. Thus:

belum
not.yet

Where, however, the Indonesian word consists of two morphemes and these are indicated in the gloss, a hyphen is used. Thus:

namanya
name-his

(vi) When the name of a person or place occurs it is glossed by initials only. Sometimes just initials are given in the free translation as well.

(vii) Where an English word or phrase is used (italicised in the Indonesian) a gap is left in the gloss line. If the English word is recognised as assimilated (occurring in the Stevens' dictionary – 2004) it is not italicised and an identical gloss is provided.

(viii) When an abbreviation is used a full translation would usually be impracticable. If the abbreviation is common it is translated in the Abbreviations; this is indicated by repeating the abbreviation in italics in the word-for-word gloss. If it appears once only or rarely it is translated in a footnote and no word-for-word gloss is given.

Where statistical information on variables is given the details – numbers of occurrences in the usage of individuals or small groups – are provided in Appendix B. Not all texts were examined for everything discussed in Chapter 2; it would add greatly and unnecessarily to the time taken to examine aspects of word usage and grammar if they were. Instead texts selected in a rather random way were examined.[2] Checking in

[2] In selecting texts representing younger interviews it was borne in mind that some were rather more formal than others and that both types needed to be considered.

numerous cases shows that selection of different texts would not significantly affect the statistics. Statistical information is not provided for items of grammar where the obtaining of such information would be very time-consuming while contributing little to the description.

For some items it has been found useful to distinguish 'younger' from 'older' groups, as discussed in §1.7. For other items where the groups differed little in their habits the categories 'conversations' and 'interviews' do not distinguish age groups.

The order in which elements of CJI are discussed is fairly random, but is identified in the Table of Contents. Numerous variables having L and H counterparts are not dealt with here because they are of such low frequency that any statistical information would be meaningless. Examples of this are H *bersembunyi* and L *ngumpet* (base: *umpet*) 'hide'; H *mendekati* and L *nyamperin* (base: *samper*) 'approach'; H *lebih baik* and L *mendingan* 'preferable, (it would be) better'; H *melempar* and L *nimpuk* (base: *timpuk*) 'throw'; H *berkelahi* and L *berantem* 'fight', H *membuat* and L *bikin* 'make'.

Sometimes reference is made to specific texts in the corpus. These are placed in square brackets, such as [22], meaning text number 22. Information on the texts is given in Appendix A. Reference is occasionally made to two publications of the Indonesian Centre for Language Development and Cultivation, the *Pusat Bahasa* (formerly *Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa*). These are the official grammar, *Tata Bahasa Baku Bahasa Indonesia* (Hasan Alwi et al. 1998) and the official dictionary *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (Tim Penyusun Kamus 1993). These titles are abbreviated to *TBB* and *KBBI* respectively when referred to.

The syntax of spoken language is typically much less structured than that of written language.[3] Incomplete sentences and sequences of phrases without sentence structure are common. This is as true of colloquial Indonesian as of other languages, although this aspect of spoken discourse is not examined here. Attempting to represent spontaneous speech in terms of sentences is often impossible and in the texts in Chapter 4 the intonation unit is recognised as the basic unit of speech. This is discussed in §4.0.

2.1 Schwa

For many words which in FI have *a* in a final syllable closed by a consonant there are variants in CJI with the mid central 'schwa' vowel *ə*. (This is always written <e> in Indonesian orthography, as is the mid front vowel *e*.) A few common words where this difference occurs are the following, with the H word first and the L form second: *benar*, *bener* 'true'; *dalam*, *dalem* 'in'; *datang*, *dateng* 'come'; *dekat*, *deket* 'close'; *hitam, item* 'black'; *ikat*, *iket* 'tie'; *ingat*, *inget* 'remember'; *malas*, *males* 'lazy'; *pagar*, *pager* 'fence'; *teman*, *temen* 'friend'. The *ə* remains if a suffix is attached: *pinter* (H *pintar*) 'clever' : *pinteran* 'cleverer'.

While these words are almost always pronounced with *ə* in CJI conversations, pronunciation with *a* becomes more frequent as the social situation becomes more formal, as with many other aspects of speech. Moreover, it is not possible to predict which words with final *a* in FI will have *ə* in CJI. Schwa in this position in CJI reflects *ə* in earlier Malay; this became *a* in Classical Malay, which is reflected in FI. If a word is inherited

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[3] Brown and Yule (1983:15).

from a word with *a* in the final syllable in earlier Malay, this is retained, thus CJI *delapan* 'eight', *renang* 'swim', *bulan* 'month', *amat* 'very'.

Some words with *ə* do not have H counterparts with *a*, there being an unrelated lexical item in H, such as *banget* (H *sekali*) 'very', *bareng* (H *bersama*) 'together'.

2.2 Words with and without initial *s*

A limited number of words commence either with or without initial *s*. For some of these words the variant with *s* is the only one occurring in FI, while the variant without *s* is favoured in CJI. In other cases the pair do not represent H and L variants.

2.2.1 Variables with H and L forms: *aja/saja* and *udah/sudah*

The variables with such H and L variants are *aja*/*saja* 'just', as in *satu aja/satu saja* 'just one', and *udah/sudah*, a temporal marker, glossed 'already' here (further discussed in §2.11.2).[4] The *aja*/*saja* variable includes another L variant, *doang*, discussed in §2.21.

In the corpus *aja* and *udah* (frequently pronounced *uda*) are far more frequent than *saja* and *sudah* in both conversations and interviews:

(1) Cari aja sendiri!
search just self
Just look for it yourself!

(2) Dia diem-diem aja, ya?
he quiet just *dp*
He just remained silent, did he?

(3) Udah siap-siap buat kuliah, belom?
already prepared for lecture not.yet
Have you made preparations for the lecture yet, or not?

(4) Kan dia udah *married*.
dp she already
She's already married, you know.

There is very limited, sometimes zero, use of *saja* in most recordings; it occurs more than three times only in one recording apart from the meetings. Somewhat surprising is the frequent use of *aja* in the meetings, being more frequent than *saja* in one. Likewise, *udah* occurs far more frequently than *sudah* in conversations and interviews. However, in meetings the frequency of *udah* drops dramatically, indicating its close connection with informal contexts.

The following table shows frequency in the recordings examined. Details are given in Appendix B Table 1a and Table 1b.

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[4] *Kamus Besar* and *Tata Bahasa Baku* only recognise *saja* and *sudah*.

Table 1a: Frequency of *aja/saja* variants

	aja	*saja*	total	*% aja*
conversations	505	6	511	98.8
interviews	401	26	427	93.9
meetings	45	37	82	54.9

Table 1b: Frequency of *udah/sudah* variants

	udah	*sudah*	total	*% udah*
conversations	737	31	768	96.0
interviews	803	85	888	90.4
meetings	33	74	107	30.8

2.2.2 *ama* and *sama*

Sama alternates with *ama* in contexts where it corresponds to a variety of H prepositions, as discussed in §2.10.

Where *ama* can occur it is used interchangeably with *sama*, although it is less frequent:

(5) Gua bingung ama nyokapnya dia loh.
I confused about mother-*nya* his *dp*
I'm confused about his mother, you know.

(6) gua dijemput ama Fido.
I met by F
I was met by Fido.

The interchangability of *sama* and *ama* is shown by the fact that they are frequently used near each other:

(7) Dia sebel sama gua; gua sebel ama dia.
she annoyed at me I annoyed at her
She's annoyed at me; I'm annoyed at her.

(8) Ama Ronny? Sama Ronny?
with R with R
Was it with Ronny? Was it with Ronny?

Sama also means 'same'. In this sense it is neutral as to style, occurring in FI also. In this meaning it cannot be replaced by *ama*:

(9) Kebetulan hobinya sama.
happen hobby-*nya* same
It happens we have the same hobby.

There are also a number of phrases which are neutral as to formality; here also *ama* cannot occur. These include *sama sekali (tidak)* '(not) at all' and *sama dengan* 'the same as'. In the following example *kerja sama* means 'work together, co-operate' (in CJI and FI). It is followed by *ama* in the meaning 'with':

(10) Buka skola balet, kerja sama ama orang Korea.
open school ballet work together with person K
[I] opened a ballet school, in co-operation with a Korean.

2.2.3 *ampe* and *sampe*

Sampe (*sampai* in FI) means 'until, up to, to (that) extent':

(11) Elu bisa skolah terus sampe S3 kali.
you can school continue until *S3* perhaps
You can go on studying up to S3 (doctoral level) perhaps.

It can also indicate that something (such as a person's ability) can extend so far (further than expected), 'even':

(12) Bokap gue sampe bisa ngerti elektronik gara-gara maen di Glodok.
father my until can understand electronics because play at G
My father can even understand electronics, because he hangs around in Glodok.

Sampe is sometimes replaced by *ampe*:

(13) Kok brani sih ampe pinjem duit ke orangtuanya gitu?
dp dare *dp* until borrow money to parents-her thus
How come she's game enough to borrow money from her parents?

(14) Gua tu ngobrol ama dia tuh dari jam sembilan malem ampe
I that chat with him that from hour nine night until

jam enam pagi.
hour six morning
I was chatting with him from nine o'clock at night until six in the morning.

2.3 Verbal prefixes *meN-, N-, nge-, Ø*

In FI transitive verbs in active voice take prefix *meN-*, where *N* symbolises a nasal which assimilates to the first sound of the verb base [RG 1.5, 1.186]. With some base-initial sounds *N* is lost. There are some circumstances when no prefix occurs in active voice, such as in certain imperative constructions. Some intransitive verbs also take this prefix [RG 1.179]. Both transitive and intransitive verbs are considered together here.

In CJI the situation is more complex, with four possibilities: (i) prefix *meN-* may occur, as in formal Indonesian, (ii) the *me-* component of the prefix may be lost, leaving only *N-*, (iii) prefix *nge-* may occur, (iv) there may be no prefix.

Occurrence of *meN-* is rare in conversations but increases in frequency as the situation becomes more formal.

Prefix *N-* occurs alone with bases which begin with *p*, *t, s,* and *k*. *N-* assimilates to the place of articulation of the first consonant of the base, which is then lost, according to the same rules as in FI. This process can be called nasal replacement:

N- + p > m, e.g. pikir > mikir ‘think’
N- + t > n, e.g. tulis > nulis ‘write’
N- + s > ny-, e.g. suruh > nyuruh ‘tell’
N- + c > ny-, e.g. cari > nyari ‘look for’
N- + k > kumpul > ngumpul ‘gather, collect’

In FI base-initial *c* is preceded by prefix *men-*, rather than nasal replacement as in CJI (example above). Thus: *cari* > FI *mencari* ‘look for’.

(15) Elu mau bantuin gua nyuci baju? (base: *cuci* ‘wash’)
you want help-*in* me *N*-wash clothes
Do you want to help me wash [my] clothes?

(16) Saya bisa nangani sendiri kok. (base: *tangan* ‘hand’)
I can *N*-handle-*i* self *dp*
I can deal with it myself, I tell you.

In FI nasal replacement does not occur before prefix *per-*: *meN- + per- + hati + -kan* > *memperhatikan* ‘pay attention to’. However, the replacement does occur in CJI: *N- + per- + hati + -in* > *merhatiin*.

N- also occurs, as *ng-*, before vowels:

N- + ajar > ngajar ‘teach’
N- + erti > ngerti ‘understand’

(17) Gua berfikir untuk ngambil Hukum. (base: *ambil* ‘take’)
I think to *N*-take law
I’m thinking of taking Law.

(18) Udah jelas yang ngumpetin bukan gua. (verb base: *umpet* ‘hide’)
already clear who *N*-hide-*in* not me
It’s clear the one who hid them wasn’t me.

N- can also precede base-initial voiced consonants *b, d, j* and *g*, assimilating to the place of articulation:

N- + b > mb, e.g. bayar > mbayar ‘pay’
N- + d > nd, e.g. dikte > ndikte ‘dictate’
N- + j > nj, e.g. jemput > njemput ‘meet’
N- + g > ngg, e.g. gonggong > nggonggong ‘bark’

(19) Nggak mbedain orang miskin orang kaya. (base: *beda* ‘different’)
not *N*-tell.apart-*in* person poor person rich
[They] don’t distinguish between poor people and rich people.

(20) Dia cuma nggonggong sama yang cakep. (base: *gonggong* ‘bark’)
he only *N*-bark at who good.looking
He only barks at good-looking people.

Such prenasalisation of voiced consonants *b*, *d*, *j*, *g* is not common in the speech of younger people, mainly being used by older people of Javanese background and even they use *nge-* (see below) more frequently.

Prefix *nge-* occurs before all initial consonants except *p*, *t*, *s*, *c*, *k*. It is the most common prefix before initial *b*, *d*, *j*, *g*, *l*, *r*, *h*, and *y*: *ngebangun* 'wake up', *ngedenger* 'hear', *ngejaga* 'guard', *ngegaji* 'pay', *ngeliat* 'see', *ngerusak* 'damage', *ngehargain* (*nge-* + *harga* + *-in*) 'appreciate', *ngeyakinin* (*nge-* + *yakin* + *-in*) 'convince'.[5]

(21) Kalo punya orangtua yang kerja di LSM, pasti bakal beda
if have parent who work in NGO certain will different

banget ya cara mereka ngedidik anak.
very *dp* way they *nge*-educate child
If you have parents who work in an NGO, their method of educating their children will certainly be very different.

(22) Dia selalu ngebandingin gua sama Bule.
he always *nge*-compare-*in* me with B
He's always comparing me with Bule.

(23) Gua ngerasa gua nggak punya jiwa sosial deh.
I *nge*-feel I not have soul social *dp*
I feel I don't have a social conscience.

Very frequently initial *h* is lost. In this case *ng-* precedes the vowel, as mentioned above: *(h)ancur* + *-in* > *ngancurin* 'crush'.

As mentioned, *nge-* does not occur before *p*, *t*, *s*, *c*, *k*. There are three exceptions. (i) It occurs before one-syllable bases with these initial sounds instead of nasal replacement. This is similar to the occurrence of *menge-* with these bases in FI. Such bases are almost always borrowings and the use of *nge-* instead of nasal replacement preserves the full base, thus aiding identification: *ngepak* 'pack', *ngetes* 'test', *ngecek* 'check'. (ii) *Nge-* occurs instead of nasal replacement before initial consonant clusters. Again these are usually borrowings: *ngetrend* 'become a trend', *ngestabilin* 'stabilise'. (iii) It occurs with unassimilated borrowings, that is words the speaker perceives as foreign (usually English): *nge-handle*, *nge-back-up*, *nge-cut* 'cut'.

Active voice transitive verbs can also occur with no prefix, as in the following examples:

(24) Gua pikir nih anak gila ya.
I think this kid mad *dp*
I think this kid's crazy.

(25) Indra bawain gua baju banyak banget.
I bring-*in* me clothes much very
Indra brought me lots of clothes.

(26) Pernah gua ajakin dia makan siang bareng-bareng.
ever I urge-*in* him eat mid.day together
I once asked him to have lunch with me.

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[5] No instances before initial *w* have been noted in the corpus. Johns (1996:7) gives *ngewarnain* 'to colour' (base *warna* 'colour').

Only transitive verbs can occur with the prefix omitted. When *meN-* or *ng-* occurs with an intransitive verb it cannot be omitted. Thus *menangis* or *nangis* (base *tangis*) 'cry'; *merokok* or *ngerokok* (base *rokok*) 'smoke (cigarette)', but never the base alone.[6]

Verb bases with an initial nasal, *m, n*, *ny*, or *ng* either take FI prefix *me-* or occur without a prefix. Thus base *nikmat* occurs (with a suffix) as *menikmati* or *nikmatin* 'enjoy':

(27) Gua bisa mainin peran sebagai kakak dia. (base *main* 'play')
I can play-*in* role as older.sister his
I've been able to play a role as his older sister.

(28) Hobi saya nyanyi di kamar mandi. (base *nyanyi* 'sing')
hobby my sing in [bathroom]
My hobby is singing in the bathroom.

Only two examples of prefix *nge-* before a base-initial nasal have been noted, both before *n*: *ngenodain* (base *noda*) 'stain' and *ngenilai* (base *nilai*) 'evaluate', but this indicates it can occur:

(29) Soalnya, mereka nggak mikir mereka udah ngenodain
thing.is they not think they already *nge*-stain-*in*

perjuangannya mereka sendiri.
struggle-*nya* their self
The thing is it doesn't occur to them that they have stained their own struggle.

It is not uncommon for speakers to shift freely between prefixed and non-prefixed forms:[7]

(30) Om gua baca-*in* tangan gue. Trus dia ngebacain karakter
uncle my read hand my further he *nge*-read-*in* character

gua, gitu.
my thus
My uncle read my hand. So he read my character, you see.

(31) Gua mau tanya nih ya. Nih, gua mau nanya elu sebagai cowok.
I want ask this *dp* this I want *N*-ask you as male
Well, now it's like this. I want to ask this. I want to ask you as a male.

(32) Trus dia liat, dia ngeliat ke .. sebelahnya, gitu.
then she look, she *nge*-look to side-her thus
Then she looked, she looked to the side, you see.

Shifting between H *meN-* and L *nge-* and *N-* also occurs:

(33) Orangtua laen akan tereak-tereak untuk jangan merokok dan
parents other will shout for not *meN*-smoke and

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6 There may be exceptions, some intransitive verbs being able to occur without a prefix. In some cases a verb can occur with either *meN-* or *ber-*, such as *menyanyi ~ bernyanyi* 'sing'. The unaffixed form, in this case *nyanyi*, can be regarded as resulting from omission of *ber-*.

7 Some writers claim that there is a difference in function between prefixed and unprefixed transitive verbs. However, the many cases in which such forms occur near each other in the corpus show that the variation is free and has no semantic significance.

anak-anaknya akhirnya ngumpet-ngumpet ngerokok di luar, gitu kan
children-their finally in.secret *nge*-smoke at outside thus *dp*
Other parents scream for (their children) not to smoke until finally their children secretly smoke outside, right?

(34) Gue harus meniti karir, ya biar gue sukses, ya gue
I must *meN*-pursue career *dp* so.that I successful *dp* I

niti karir. (base: *titi*)
N-pursue career
I have to pursue my career so that I'm successful; yes I have to pursue my career.

It is rare for H *meN-* to co-occur with L *-in* and for L prefixes to co-occur with H *-kan* or *-i*. However, such combinations do sometimes occur, as discussed in §2.7.

There are a number of intransitive verbs which take prefix *ber-* in FI but a nasal prefix in CJI. Thus FI *berkumpul*, CJI *ngumpul* 'gather, assemble'; FI *bertanya*, CJI *nanya* 'ask'; FI *beradu*, CJI *ngadu* 'touch; strike against':

(35) Disuruh ngumpul anak-anaknya.
ordered *N*-gather children-*nya*
The children were told to assemble.

With such verbs only the L prefix *N-/nge-* occurs, never *meN-*.

There are also a few intransitive verbs which occur without a prefix in FI but which can take a nasal in CJI (as well as occurring without a prefix). Thus FI *tumbuh* 'grow; emerge', CJI *numbuh*; FI *iri* 'jealous', CJI *ngiri*; FI *sampai* 'arrive', CJI *nyampe*:

(36) Udah numbuh semua, belum?
already *N*-grow all not.yet
Have all (your teeth) come through yet, or not?

2.4 Prefix *ber-*

This prefix occurs with some intransitive verbs, functioning as in FI [RG 1.167–176]. With a few verbs it is optional in CJI, such as (*ber*)*bicara* 'speak', (*ber*)*tanya* 'ask', (*ber*)*jalan* 'walk', (*be*)*kerja* 'work', and in such cases it rarely occurs:

(37) Dia kerja di Wawasan Nusantara. (FI: bekerja 'work')
he work at W N
He works at Wawasan Nusantara.

(38) Obe lagi jalan pulang. (FI: berjalan 'walk')
O present walk come.home
Obe is walking home.

The prefix can occur as *be-* before consonants, as in *kita bedua* 'we two', *bedarah* 'bleed', *becanda* 'joke', although this is rare.[8]

[8] Reduction to *be-* before consonants is regular in Jakarta Malay (Muhadjir 1981:25). In *bekerja* 'work' the reduction is because of *r* in the following syllable, as also occurs in FI [RG 1.4].

2.5 Prefixes *ter-* and *ke-*

In CJI prefix *ke-* is a common alternative to *ter-* with some verbs; only *ter-* occurs in FI.[9]

In FI the prefix *ter-* has a number of functions. It occurs with adjectives to indicate superlative: *terbaik* 'best', *terendah* 'lowest'. It also occurs with a number of adverbials, some of which are idiomatic or frozen expressions. These include *terlalu* 'too', *termasuk* 'including', *ternyata* 'clearly', *terserah* 'it's up to you', *terutama* 'especially', *tersebut* 'already mentioned', *tergantung* 'it depends'. In forms such as these *ter-* is apparently never replaced by *ke-* in CJI.

There are also verbs in FI which are prefixed with *ter-*. These can in general be grouped as stative, accidental and abilitative [RG 1.265–275].

Stative verbs refer to a state of affairs rather than an action, such as *terletak* 'located', *tertulis* 'written'. The term 'accidental' is a cover term for a variety of uncontrolled events. Depending on the particular verb and the context other terms may be more appropriate, such a 'unintended, unexpected, agentless, involuntary, sudden'. Abilitative verbs indicate that the agent has the ability to perform the action or, with a negative, inability. Prefix *ter-* occurs with these verbs in CJI:

(39) Gua suka ngeliat cewek-cewek yang rambutnya panjang dan
I like see girls who hair-their long and

terawat. [stative]
ter-well.groomed
I like to look at girls whose hair is long and well-groomed.

(40) Padahal sebetulnya kita tertipu, seperti orang-orang katanya belanja
whereas in.fact we *ter*-trick like people word-*nya* shop

di Plaza Senayan. [accidental]
in P L
But we were cheated, like you hear about people who go shopping at Plaza Senayan.

(41) Tapi kalo dia terpaksa, ya gua kasian gitu. [accidental]
but if he *ter*-force *dp* I pity thus
But if he's forced I have sympathy for him.

(42) Trus benda-benda yang tidak terlihat, misalnya kayak santet
then things which not *ter*-see for.example like black.magic

segala macem, itu lebih gampang masuk ke rumah. [(in)ability]
[all sorts] that more easy enter to house
What's more invisible things (things that can't be seen) such as black magic and the like can more easily enter the house.

The prefix *ke-* apparently cannot occur instead of *ter-* with stative verbs.[10]

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[9] *Tata Bahasa Baku* does not mention *ke-* and books on good usage regularly advise against its use.

[10] No instances have been noted in the corpus and possibilities put to native speakers were all rejected.

Accidental verbs can take *ke-* instead of *ter-*:

(43) Kadang-kadang Trisna bilang, 'San, jangan kemakan ama cinta aja'.
sometimes T say S don't *ke*-eat by love just
Sometimes Trisna says, 'San, don't be consumed by love alone'.

(44) Gua pengen sekolah ke luar negeri tapi kepikir tentang
I wish school to outside country but *ke*-think about

hubungan gua sama Fido nih.
relationship my with F this
I want to study overseas but I keep thinking of my relationship with Fido.

(45) Kita kan nggak bisa membuktikan, walopun ni sudah ketangkep
we *dp* not can prove although this already *ke*-catch

basah.
red.handed
We can't prove it, although he was caught red handed.

Prefix *ke-* can also occur with verbs indicating ability, or with a negative, inability:

(46) Kalo elu mau desain grafis, elu pake aja *Copycat*. Kepake
if you want design graphic you use just C *ke*-use

soalnya di kantor, di mana aja.
thing.is in office [anywhere] just
If you want to do graphic design you just use *Copycat*. It can be used in the office, anywhere at all.

(47) Tulisannya kebaca, nggak?
writing-his *ke*-read no
Can you read his writing (i.e. is it legible), or not?

(48) A: Takut rumahnya nggak keurus.
fear house-*nya* not *ke*-care.for

B: Iya. Kayak gitu loh. Ya, rumah nggak keurus, dia
yes like thus *dp* *dp* house not *ke*-care.for he

juga nggak keurus
also not *ke*-care.for

A: I'm afraid he won't be able to take care of the house.

B: Yeah, that's what I reckon. He can't take care of the house and he can't take care of himself.

In the following *ke-* occurs first indicating inability and next accidental (uncontrolled action):

(49) Kalo misalnya nggak kebeli sekarang, pasti besok-besok
if for.example not *ke*-buy now certain later.on

kebawa ngimpi harus beli.
ke-carry dream must buy
You know, if she can't buy it now, she's going to dream (lit: be carried into a dream) about it, which will finally compel her to buy it.

While the combinations *ter-* .. *-kan* and *ter-* .. *-i* occur, no examples of *ke-* co-occurring with a suffix have been noted. (In combination with *ter-* these suffixes cannot be replaced by *-in*; see §2.6).

Prefix *ke-* occurs in a few contexts where *ter-* does not occur. It occurs in *ketemu* 'meet' for which the H counterpart is *bertemu* (*dengan*):

(50) Waktu lagi nari buat Golkar gua ketemu dia.
time continue dance for G I *ke*-meet him
When I was dancing for Golkar I met him.

Another word without a corresponding *ter-* form is *kepengen* 'wish, want', which has the same meaning as *pengen* and corresponds to H *ingin* (see §2.36):

(51) Gua kepengen ke Amerika. Gua pengen sekolah lagi.
I *ke*-wish to A I wish school again
I want to go to America. I want to study again.

While there is no **terterima* the word *keterima* 'be accepted' occurs:

(52) Gua ngelamar, belom tentu ketrima.
I apply not.yet certain *ke*-accept
I've applied but it's not certain I'll be accepted.

The word *ketimbang* 'rather than, compared with' means the same as H *dibandingkan dengan* (*dibandingin* also occurs):

(53) Itu lebih puas ketimbang harus kerja.
that more satisfy *ke*-balance must work
That's preferable to having to work.

With some words apparently *ter-* never, or extremely rarely, occurs in CJI conversations. Thus the formal form *tertawa* 'laugh' occurs only in one of the meetings, the form *ketawa* always occurring in the conversations and interviews.

2.6 Suffix *-an*

The suffix *-an* occurs with various word classes in both CJI and FI, most of its functions being the same in both. Functions which it also has in FI are not discussed here. With a few functions it occurs only in the informal language.

2.6.1 Forming adjectives

It can be attached to adjectives to form the comparative:

gemuk 'fat' : *gemukan* 'fatter'
malu 'shy' : *maluan* 'shyer'
kencang 'loud' : *kencengan* 'louder'
cepet 'fast' : *cepetan* 'faster'
pinter 'clever' : *pinteran* 'more clever'

(54) Yang kencengan dikit, dong.
which loud-*an* little *dp*
(Speak) a bit louder.

(55) Hei, Novi kok sekarang gemukan?
Hai N *dp* now fat-*an*
Hai! How come you're fatter now, Novi?

(56) Pinteran gua dibandingin elu.
clever-*an* I compared.with you
I'm cleverer than you.

As in FI, *lebih* 'more' can also form the comparative of adjectives and is used much more frequently than *-an*:

(57) Gua dapet *salary* yang lebih bagus di sini.
I get which more good at here
I get a better salary here.

The two ways of forming the comparative have been recorded co-occurring:

(58) Kayaknya sih lebih enakan di Club 21 kafe, yah?
like-*nya* *dp* more tasty-*an* at C 21 cafe *dp*
I think (the food is) tastier at the Club 21 cafe, don't you?

With *bener* 'true, real' suffix *-an* emphasises the meaning and can be translated 'really':

(59) Murah! Beneran murah!
cheap true-*an* cheap
It's cheap! It's really cheap!

2.6.2 Forming verbs

Suffix *-an* occurs with some verbs which correspond to *ber-..-an* verbs in FI [RG 1.255–6]. These verbs are reciprocals, indicating that two people do the same thing to each other:[11]

(60) Gua kan setiap Rabu itu gantian ama Betty *story telling*.
I *dp* each Wednesday that take.turns-*an* with B
Every Wednesday I take turns with Betty story-telling.
(FI *bergantian* 'take turns with each other')

(61) Biasanya Aries sama Libra kan katanya suka musuhan.
usually A with L *dp* they.say like enemy-*an*
They say Arians are often enemies with Librans.
(FI *bermusuhan* 'be enemies with each other')

(62) Yang kedua itu pacaran udah lama.
which both that dating-*an* already long
Those two have been dating for a long time.
(FI *berpacaran* 'be boyfriend and girlfriend of each other')

---

[11] A few of these forms appear in FI. *Kamus Besar* recognises *balapan* 'race each other', meaning the same as *berbalapan*, while *tawuran* 'engage in street fighting' is also listed.

These occur reduplicated to indicate continued action:

(63) Nyokap-bokap gua masih suka kejer-kejeran, kliling-kliling
mother-father my still like chase-chase-*an* around-around
rumah lagi, kitik-kitikan, gitu.
house still tickle-tickle-*an* thus
My parents still chase each other around a lot, running around in the house, tickling each other, and so on.

(64) Gara-gara dia suka bikin yang lucu-lucu, gua jadi ikut-ikutan.
because he like make which funny I thus follow-follow-*an*
Because he was always doing funny things I used to follow him around.

Other verbs like this include *ciuman* 'kiss each other', *liat-liatan* 'gaze at each other'.

In a few cases the *-an* form corresponds to a *ber-..-an* form in FI which is not reciprocal but indicates random action by a number of people, such as *tiduran* in (65), or continued action, such as *jualan* in (66) [RG 1.261]:

(65) Jadi ke Mudika gitu, tiduran di lantei, pake tiker.
so to M thus sleep-*an* on floor use mat
So [we] went to Mudika and lay about on the floor on mats.
(FI: *bertiduran* 'lie about of plural subjects')

(66) Nah, Sandy jualan ke temen-temen waktu itu.
dp S sell-*an* to friends time that
Well, at that time I earned my living by selling things to friends.
(FI: *berjualan* 'sell for a living')

In some cases the *-an* verb corresponds to a *ber-* verb attached to a noun derived with an *-an* suffix:

(67) Kok sepanjang itu kok pada pakaian batik sih?
dp as.long that *dp* all wear-*an* batik *dp*
How come throughout that time everyone was wearing batik?
(FI: *berpakaian* 'wear', base *pakaian* 'clothes')

For a number of CJI verbs there is no corresponding *ber-* verb in FI, a noun derived with suffix *-an* directly acting as a verb:

(68) Seharusnya gua enggak siaran pagi ini.
should I not broadcast-*an* morning this
I shouldn't be broadcasting this morning. (FI, CJI: *siaran* 'a broadcast')

(69) Gua lagi ujian waktu itu.
I continue exam-*an* time that
I was doing an exam at that time. (FI, CJI *ujian* 'an exam')

(70) Gua kasian sama dia.
I pity-*an* to him
I feel sorry for him. (FI, CJI *kasi(h)an* 'pity, compassion')

Other verbs like this include *tawuran* 'engage in street brawling', *rekaman* 'to record', *ikutan* 'join in'.

In a few cases the *-an* verb corresponds to an FI verb with *ber-* but no suffix:

(71) Lagi latihan tablo.
continue practice-*an* tableau
We're practicing for the tableau. (FI *berlatih* 'practice, train')

(72) Mungkin gua lebih milih temenan sama cewek Barat.
perhaps I more choose friend-*an* with girl west
I think I'd prefer to be friends with a Western girl.
(FI: *berteman* 'be friends with')

2.7 Suffix *-in*

Suffix *-in* is taken from Jakarta Malay, which had earlier taken it from Balinese. In CJI it occurs with transitive verbs, its functions being the same as those of the suffixes *-kan* and *-i* in FI; that is, it merges the functions of the two H suffixes. These suffixes are, however, not entirely absent from CJI. Where they occur they have the same functions as they do in the formal language.[12] There is considerable variation in the use of *-in*. The suffix is highly informal in that it is very rarely used in semi-formal contexts.

Suffix *-in* usually corresponds in meaning to H *-kan* [RG 1.189–1.210]. In the first two examples below it indicates that the object is the beneficiary. In the next two examples it has a causative meaning; the object is caused to perform the action or undergo the state of the verb base:

(73) Papi Sandy beliin Sandy organ.
dad S buy-*in* S organ
Sandy's father bought her an organ. (FI *belikan* 'buy (for someone)')

(74) Cariin gua kerjaan, deh.
seek-*in* me work *dp*
Find me work! (FI *carikan* 'seek (for someone)')

(75) Dia udah ngancurin harapan gua.
he already cause.shatter-*in* hope my
He has shattered my hopes.
(FI *hancurkan* 'shatter, smash' – base: *hancur* 'shattered, smashed')

(76) Dia nggak berusaha untuk ngejatuhin orang lain.
he not try to cause.fall-*in* person other
he doesn't try to bring down other people.
(FI *jatuhkan* 'bring down'– base: *jatuh* 'fall')

It corresponds to H *-i* [RG 1.211–1.288] to indicate that the object is the recipient or location:

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[12] Grijns (1998:304, 306) states that Jakartan Indonesian has *-ken* for Betawi *-in* and 'Standard Indonesian' *-kan*. However, this has not been noted as an alternative to *-kan* in the recordings for this study. One Jakartan stated that *-ken* is associated with former President Suharto and his cronies and is thus avoided by modern Jakartans.

(77) Gua ngedeketin dia untuk jadi pacar gua.
I approach-*in* her to become girlfriend my
I approached her to become my girlfriend.
(FI *dekati* 'approach'– base: *dekat* 'close')

(78) Gue diajarin ama orangtua gua juga untuk kritis, gitu loh.
I taught-*in* by parents my also to critical thus *dp*
I was also taught by my parents to be critical, you see.
(FI *ajari* 'teach (someone))

With a few verbs *-in*, like *-i*, carries the suggestion of repeated action:

(79) Ya, pokoknya ya syuting di sana ampe malem. Trus uda
dp thing.is *dp* shooting at there until night thus already

gitu digigitin nyamuk.
thus bitten-*in* mosquito
Well, the thing is, we were shooting there until night time. We were repeatedly bitten by mosquitoes. (FI *gigiti* 'bite repeatedly')

(80) Maling itu dipukulin masa sampe pingsan.
burglar that beaten-*in* mob until faint
The burglar was beaten (repeatedly) by the mob until he fainted.
(FI *pukuli* 'hit repeatedly')

In the following example *-in* corresponds to FI *-kan* in its first occurrence (FI *dilahirkan* 'be born') and to *-i* in its second occurrence (FI *ditemani* 'be accompanied'):

(81) Jadi gua tuh dilahirin cuma sama nyokap gua ditemenin
so I that born-*in* only by mother my accompanied-*in*

sama kakaknya nyokap gue.
by older.sister-*nya* mother my
So my mother gave birth to me (lit: I was born by my mother) accompanied only by her older sister. (FI *lahirkan* 'give birth to' (base: *lahir* 'be born'); *temani* 'accompany' (base: *teman* 'friend'))

Suffix *-in* does not entirely parallel the distribution of the two H suffixes. It also occurs with numerous verbs which in FI do not take a suffix. Common among these are *bantuin* 'help', *cobain* 'try (something)', *jagain* 'guard', *liatin* 'see', *ajakin* 'urge, invite', *tutupin* 'close, cover', *tungguin* 'await', which occur as *bantu*, *coba*, *lihat*, *ajak, tutup* and *tunggu* respectively in FI:

(82) Elu mau bantuin gua nyuci baju?
you want help-*in* me wash clothes
Do you want to help me wash my clothes? (FI *bantu* 'help')

(83) Gua kalo diliatin orang pasti grogi.
I if seen-*in* person certainly nervous
I'd certainly be nervous if anyone saw me. (FI *lihat* 'see, look at')

However, in all cases where *-kan* and *-i* do not occur *-in* is optional. Thus *bantu* 'help' occurs slightly more often in the texts than *bantuin*, while *liat* 'see' is considerably more common than *liatin*.

The one speaker might alternate randomly between forms with and without *-in*:

(84) .. sampe gua uda nggak bisa nutupin .. Ahernya gua tutup
until I already not can cover-*in* finally I cover

pake kaen.
use cloth
.. so that I couldn't manage to cover it. Finally I covered it with a cloth.

(85) Saya ngajarin daerah-daerah tertentu .. saya ngajar *acting* juga.
I teach-*in* areas certain I teach also
I teach specific areas (of dancing). I teach acting too.

(86) .. kan bagus diliatnya. .. Cuman kan gua suka aja ngeliat deh.
dp good looked.at-*nya* only *dp* I like just look.at *dp*

Nggak ada salahnya; ada barang bagus nggak diliatin.
not be wrong be thing beautiful not looked.at-*in*

Itu goblok.
that stupid
.. they're good to look at, aren't they. I just like to look at them. There's nothing wrong with it; if there's something beautiful and you don't look at it, that's stupid.

There are examples in the texts where the speaker varies between *-in* and *-kan* or *-i*, one soon after the other:

(87) Gua mau pekerjaan gua dihargai seperti orang dihargai sebagai guru,
I want work my valued-*i* like person valued-*i* as teacher

dihargai sebagai manajer. Gua mau sebagai penari gua dihargain.
valued-*i* as manager I want as dancer I valued-*in*
I want my work to be respected like a person is respected as a teacher, respected as a manager. I want to be respected as a dancer.

(88) Mungkin beda keadaanya kalo misalnya ngajakkan, mereka
possibly different situation-*nya* if for.instance urge-*kan* they

ngajakinnya siang-siang.
urge-*in*-him earlier
Perhaps the situation would be different if for instance they had invited, had invited him to come earlier.

A rule prevents suffix *-i* being expressed after base-final *i*. Thus *beri* 'give' followed by the recipient, as in *memberi dia (buku)* 'give him (the book)', theoretically has suffix *-i*. In CJI this rule does not apply to *-in*; it can follow a base-final *i*: *bukti* + *-in* > *buktiin* 'prove'.

If a verb has prefix *ter-*, which indicates uncontrolled action (see §2.5), suffix *-in* cannot occur; only suffixes *-kan* and *-i* co-occur with *ter-*:

(89) Mungkin lo, ini pemikiranku aja, kita kan sudah tersakiti, gitu lo.
possible *dp* this thinking-my just we *dp* already *ter*-hurt-*i* thus *dp*
Possibly, this is just my thinking, we have already been hurt, you see.

(90) Apa yang paling tidak terlupakan, alias paling terkenanglah?
what which most not *ter*-forget-*kan* alias most *ter*-remember-*lah*
What is most unforgettable, in other words most memorable?

Likewise, *-in* cannot replace *-kan* where it co-occurs with prefix *ber-* [RG 1.262–1.265]:

(91) Saya tuh enggak ngegaji kamu berdasarkan jam kamu ngajar,
I that not pay you *ber*-base-*kan* hour you teach
gitu, tapi per bulan.
thus but per month
I don't pay you based on how many hours you have taught, but monthly.

For some meanings there are different H and L verbs, rather than the same verb with different suffixes. Thus H *letakkan* 'put, place' does not have the L equivalent **letakin*; *-in* does not occur with verb *letak*. Instead the verb *taruh* occurs (without a suffix). H *sembunyikan* 'hide (something)' does not have an L equivalent **sembunyiin*. Instead *-in* occurs with base *umpet*: *umpetin* 'hide (something)'.

L *-in* is unlikely to co-occur with H verbal prefix *meN-* (see §2.7) and H *-kan* and *-i* are unlikely to co-occur with L *nge- ~ N-*. This is not a strict rule and there are in the corpus cases of *meN-* co-occurring with *-in* and *N-* and *nge-* co-occurring with *-kan* and *-i*:

(92) Mereka lagi mau menggulingin Gus Dur.
they continue want *meN*-overthrow-*in* G D
They want to overthrow Gus Dur. (base: *guling* 'roll; overthrow')

(93) Saya bisa nangani sendiri kok. Nggak perlu kamu.
I can *N*-handle-*i* self *dp* not necessary you
I can deal with it myself, I tell you. You're not needed. (base: *tangan* 'hand')

(94) Mereka bisa ngelepaskan kehidupan sehari-hari, yah?
they can *nge*-release-*kan* life daily *dp*
They can free up their daily lives, right?

Such cases are not frequent and probably do not occur in everyone's speech.

The fact that *-in* corresponds to both *-kan* and *-i* can result in ambiguity out of context. Thus, *rumahnya ditinggalin* can mean either *rumahnya ditinggali* 'the house was lived in' or *rumahnya ditinggalkan* 'the house was left (abandoned)'.

Suffix *-in* is highly marked for informality as it does not occur in FI. In the semi-formal meetings it occurred 18% of times in one text and only 1.9% of times in the other. Nevertheless, *-kan* and *-i* occur more frequently in informal conversations than do many H variants. The following figures were obtained from randomly selected texts (see Appendix B Table 2 for details):[13]

[13] Suffix *-in* in *ngapain* 'what (is being done)?' (see §2.31) has been excluded from the count. Also excluded are words with H suffixes co-occurring with prefixes *ter-* and *ber-*; these cannot be replaced by *-in*, as discussed in the text.

Table 2: Frequency of verbal suffixes

	-in	*-kan*	*-i*	total	*% -in*
conversations	556	158	76	790	70.4
interviews	628	524	104	1256	50.0
meetings	33	254	88	375	8.8

2.8 Suffix *-nya*

The functions of *-nya* are many and varied and are not entirely well-understood.[14] For some functions there is considerable variation in usage between different people. In many cases there is ambiguity in that the particular usage of *-nya* could be placed in several of the categories discussed below; to some extent then the categories are at times somewhat artificial.

2.8.1 *-nya* as a pronoun

Historically the primary function of *-nya* has been as a third person singular pronoun in a number of structures: in possessives, as object after active transitive verbs and as agent after passive verbs. It can also indicate third person plural. These functions are the same as in FI [discussed in RG 2.71].

It has been stated that in colloquial Indonesian *-nya* does not occur with passive verbs to identify a specific agent.[15] In CJI this function is frequent, as in the following examples (where *-nya* could be replaced by (*oleh*) *dia* 'by him/her'):

(95) Kalo mama gua minta uang lima puluh ribu nih, dikasihnya
if mum my ask money [50,000] this given-by.him

dua ratus ribu.
[200,000]
If my mum asks for 50,000, he gives (her) 200,000.

(96) A: Katanya rambutnya cepak banget.
they.say hair-her short very
I hear she's cut her hair very short.

B: Gua liat; keren. Diwarnainya bagus.
I see cool coloured-by.her beautiful
I saw her hair, it's cool. She's coloured it beautifully.

In FI *-nya* cannot be attached to a verb without occurrence of either active prefix *meN-* or passive prefix *di-*. Thus in active voice *-nya* can only occur to mark the object if the verb has prefix *meN-* [RG 2.71]. In CJI it frequently occurs with a prefixless active verb, meaning 'it'. FI equivalents are given to the relevant verb in the following examples:

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[14] The functions of *-nya* in FI are described by Sneddon (1996) in various subsections. The most detailed account for colloquial Indonesian (as spoken in Central Java) is Englebretson (2003:Ch. 5).

[15] Englebretson (2003:169).

(97) Gimana cara dapetinnya? (FI: mendapatkannya)
how way find-*in*-it
How can I find it?

(98) .. misalnya elu denger satu kalimat, elu nggak ngerti,
for.instance you hear one sentence you not understand
ya elu tulisnya asal-asalan aja. (FI: menulisnya)
dp you write-it any.way just
.. for instance, if you hear a sentence that you don't understand you write it just any way you like.

(99) Gua mau gambarinnya gimana, yah? (FI: menggambarkannya)
I want picture-*in*-it how *dp*
Now how should I describe it?

CJI *-nya* sometimes also occurs where a first or second person pronoun might be expected.[16] In some cases this may be a politeness strategy, for instance to avoid direct reference when speaking to a stranger or older person.

(100) Ibu siapa namanya, bu?
mother who name-*nya* mother
What is your name, ma'am?

In many cases, however, it is clearly not a politeness device, as in *suaranya* in the following:

(101) Kerasan dikit dong! Takutnya ntar nggak masuk suaranya.
harder little *dp* fear-*nya* soon not enter voice-*nya*
Speak up a bit! I'm worried your voice won't be recorded.

In the following example B first uses the intimate pronoun *lu* 'you' but in the repetition uses *-nya*. Clearly the speaker is not using *-nya* to sound less abrupt and therefore more polite:

(102) A: Pacarku yang dulu Libra.
girlfriend-my who earlier L

B: Siapa pacar lu?
who girlfriend your

A: Yang dulu. Inget nggak? Yang dulu? Libra.
who earlier remember not who earlier L

B: Siapa sih pacarnya yang dulu?
who *dp* girlfriend-*nya* who earlier

A: My previous girlfriend was a Libra.

B: Who was your girlfriend?

A: The previous one. Don't you remember? She's a Libra.

B: But who *was* your previous girlfriend?

---

[16] Englebretson (2003:158) also recognises use of *-nya* to refer to first or second person in the colloquial Indonesian of Central Java.

It can also be used for self-reference, instead of a first person pronoun, although this usage is not frequent:

(103) .. baru berapa minggu gitu di Amerika, bahasa Inggrisnya
just several week thus in A language English-*nya*

masih ngaco.
still poor
I'd only been in America a few weeks and my English was still poor.

2.8.2 *-nya* as a ligature

It can serve as an optional ligature or linker before possessive nouns [RG 2.44]. This usage is usually said to be from Javanese, where a similar construction occurs:

(104) Itu mejanya Pak Bun.
that table-*nya* Mr B
That's Mr Bun's desk.

(105) .. setelah jamannya Gus Dur.
after time-*nya* G D
.. after the time of Gus Dur.

In the above examples *-nya* links possessive nouns to the possessed. It can also occur with pronoun substitutes:

(106) Bu Henny beda berapa taun ama kakaknya
Mrs H different how.many year with older.sister-*nya*

Bu Henny yang ini?
Mrs H which this
What is the age difference between you and this older sister of yours, Mrs Henny?

In the above example *Bu Henny* is the name of the person being spoken to, substituting for second person pronoun 'you' (see §2.13).

It also acts optionally as a ligature before pronouns, including first person. While this is not possible in FI it is quite common in CJI:

(107) Abu-abu, kayak-nya *handphone*-nya aku.
grey like-*nya* mobile.phone-*nya* my
It's grey, like my mobile phone.

(108) Egonya dia kalah besarnya sama elu.
ego-*nya* his defeated big-*nya* with you
His ego isn't as big as yours.

(109) Kalo gua putus ama cewek gua yang pertama kan gara-gara
if I break with girl my which first *dp* because

nyokapnya dia.
mother-*nya* her
I split up with my first girlfriend on account of her mother.

2.8.3 *-nya* as a marker of definiteness and as an emphasiser

It can occur attached to a noun to mark definiteness, usually translatable 'the' with common nouns. This can occur in CJI and FI where the noun has not before been mentioned but is understood within the context of the utterance:

(110) A: Kayak kemaren gua nonton film *Bone Collector*.
like yesterday I watch film B C

sampe Gua takut naik taksi.
I afraid get.in taxi

B: Loh emang kenapa?
dp indeed why

A: Iya karena emang penjahatnya nyetir taksi.
yes because indeed criminal-*nya* drive taxi

A: Like yesterday I saw the film Bone Collector. (It affected me) to the extent I'm scared to get in a taxi.

B: Oh, why?

A: Yeah, because the crook was a taxi driver.

In the context of a crime movie there is assumed to be a criminal. Thus *penjahat* 'criminal' is definite here, marked by 'the' in English. Because *penjahat* has not previously been mentioned it cannot be identified by *itu* 'that', which refers back to something previously mentioned [RG 2.7, 2.50]. Instead, *-nya* can be used; it marks the person or thing as definite even if only assumed in the particular context. In such cases *-nya* can be called a definitiser or identifier.[17] In the following example *-nya* is added to the names of two towns, not previously mentioned but understood in the context of Bali:

(111) [B has told A that her parents are now living in Bali]

A: Di mana? Berarti kota di mana?
at where mean town at where

B: Di …
at

A: Denpasar-nya?
D-*nya*

B: Enggak. Di Gianyar-nya.
no at G-*nya*

A: Where? Which town do you mean?

B: In …

A: Denpasar?

B: No. In Gianyar.

---

[17] Englebretson (2003:161) calls it an 'identifiability marker', an identifiable referent being 'one the speaker assumes the listener will be able to identify'.

It can also act as a definitiser for referents which have been previously mentioned:

(112) A: Jadi gua ntar ketemu dia langsung di salon.
so I soon meet her direct in salon

B: Salonnya di deket rumah?
salon-*nya* at near house

A: So I'm going to meet her directly at the salon.

B: Is the salon near your home?

In such cases, where the person or thing has already been referred to, *-nya* functions like *itu*, which could alternatively occur. It still acts to identify the referent and thus can add a certain emphasis, as also in the following example:

(113) A: Ah, gua sih minum *orange juice*, *ice capuccino*.
exc I *dp* drink

B: Ah, *ice capuccino*-nya gua enggak suka. Pait.
exc *-nya* I not like bitter

A: I drink orange juice and iced capuccino.

B: Oh, I don't like iced capuccino. It's bitter.

It can also emphasise proper names and pronouns. This usage does not occur in FI:

(114) A: Terus, kenapa Mitsy?
go.on what.about M

B: Ya, eh Mitsynya di Australi ..
dp *exc* M-*nya* in A

A: Go on, what about Mitsy?

B: Yeah, well, Mitsy was in Australia ..

(115) Selamat malam. Vennynya ada?
[good evening] V-*nya* be
Good evening. Is Venny in?

(116) Iya, tapi elunya makannya gimana?
yes but you-*nya* eat-*nya* how
Yes, but how would *you* eat (if you were married now with no money)?

(117) Masalah bukan akunya. Dianya yang kayak sulit, gitu loh.
matter not I-*nya* he-*nya* who like difficult thus *dp*
The problem isn't *me*. *He*'s the one who seems to be having difficulty.

Since both *itu* and *-nya* can occur to mark definiteness if the referent has already been mentioned, it is not uncommon in CJI for *-nya* and *itu* (or *tuh*) to occur together, although this cannot happen in FI (see also §2.15); *-nya* and *ini* (or *nih*) can also co-occur:

(118) '.. kamu akan menemukan aku di sana'. Akunya itu Tuhan.
you will meet me at there I-*nya* that God
'.. you will find me there'. The 'me' (referred to) is God.

(119) Ngobrol-ngobrol dan itu obrolannya direkam.
talk-talk and that talk-*nya* recorded
Talk away and the talk will be recorded.

(120) Wah ini salah nih teksnya nih.
Oh this wrong this text-*nya* this
Oh, this text is wrong.

2.8.4 *-nya* emphasising words other than nouns

As an identifier *-nya* adds a certain emphasis to nouns (see §2.8.3 above); it can also be added to word classes other than nouns to provide such emphasis.

(121) emphasising a temporal:

A: Nyanyi Bu?
sing ma'am

B: Iya, saya penyanyi dulunya.
yes I singer previously-*nya*.

A: Do you sing, ma'am?

B: Yes, I used to be a singer.

(122) emphasising a locative:

Elu okelah di sini. Tapi di sininya elu botak begini.
you OK-*lah* at here but at here-*nya* you bald like.this
You're OK here but here [pointing at her friend's forehead] you're getting bald.

(123) emphasising an interrogative locative:

Yang mananya?
which where-*nya*
Which one?

(124) emphasising an interrogative pronoun:

A: Kayak enggak siap, gitu.
like not ready thus

B: Siapanya?
who-*nya*

A: I don't think she's ready.

B: Who?

(125) emphasising a demonstrative pronoun and an interrogative:

A: Ininya bener-bener masih seger.
this-*nya* really still fresh

B: Apanya? Bawang? Manis yah?
what-*nya* onion sweet *dp*

A: This (food) is still really fresh.

B: What? The onion? It's sweet right?

2.8.5 *-nya* in topic-comment clauses

Another function of *-nya* is to mark the place of the topic in a topic-comment clause. This is discussed in §2.17.

2.8.6 *-nya* as a nominaliser

In FI *-nya* can be attached to a predicate verb or adjective to give it the characteristics of a noun, that is to nominalise it. The nominalised verb or adjective is usually followed by a noun which stands as possessor to it [RG p.302–306]. In CJI such nominalised constructions with a possessor are rare. In the following example *dibayarnya kita* 'the paying of us' or 'our being paid' derives from *kita dibayar* 'we were paid':

(126) Dibayarnya kita waktu itu cuman sehari tu sepulu ribu, gitu
paid-*nya* we time that only a.day that [10,000] thus
At that time we were paid just ten thousand a day.

It is particularly common for nominalised verbs to occur in contexts where they are not followed by a possessor; this is one of the most common functions of *-nya* in CJI. Usually what would be the 'possessor' is mentioned immediately before the nominalised predicate, as in the second and third examples below. In the first example the 'possessor' is mentioned in the preceding sentence:

(127) Bokap gua uda meninggal. Meninggalnya itu taun sembilan lima.
father my already die die-*nya* that year ['95]
My father has died. He died in '95. (lit: His dying was in '95.)

(128) .. di surat lahir Rita yah, tapi saya di mana-mana dipanggilnya Ita.
in letter birth R yes, but I [everywhere] called-*nya* I.
.. in my birth certificate sure, it's Rita, but everywhere I'm called Ita.
(lit: .. as for me everywhere the naming is Ita.)

(129) Bareng temen-temen gua tidurnya di Mudika.
together friends I sleep-*nya* in M
Together with my friends I slept in Mudika. (lit: Together with my friends, my sleeping was in Mudika.)

Sometimes there is no identifiable possessor. In such cases the action may refer to people in general, as with *takutnya* 'the fear' in the first example and *ngecas* 'the recharging' in the second:

(130) Trus tiba-tiba di istana rame. Takutnya nanti *chaos*.
then suddenly in palace commotion fear-*nya* soon
Then suddenly there was commotion at the palace. It was feared there would be chaos. (lit: The fear was ..)

(131) A: Kita dapet h-t[18] yang mesti dicas .. ngecas h-t itu
we have which must charged charge that

bisa dua belas jam.
can [12] hour

B: Iya. Ngecasnya lama.
yes charge-*nya* long

A: We have a walkie-talkie that has to be recharged .. to recharge it can take twelve hours.

B: Yes. Recharging takes a long time.

Most of these constructions superficially differ from simple subject-predicate clauses solely in the addition of *-nya* to the verb. Sometimes a verb is nominalised together with preverbal predicate components, such as *udah* 'already' in the first example below and *baru* 'just' in the second:

(132) Dia udah datengnya telat.
he already come-*nya* late
He came late. (lit: As for him, the already-coming was late.)

(133) Kok baru tumbuhnya sekarang?
dp new grow-*nya* now
How come it's only just emerged (speaking of wisdom tooth)?
(lit: How come the just-emerging is now?)

Adjective predicates can undergo such nominalisation:

(134) Kalo saya liat fotonya tuh saya sedih beneran, karna dia
if I see photo-his that I sad really because he

begitu kurusnya, kecilnya begitu ya.
so thin-*nya* small-*nya* thus *dp*
When I look at his photo I feel really sad, because he was so thin, so tiny.
(lit: .. so much was his thinness, his smallness was so much.)

2.8.7 Frequent occurrence of *-nya*

Suffix *-nya* occurs with high frequency in CJI. In each of the following examples it occurs twice, each time with a different function:

(135) as definitiser and topic-marker:

Pagernya warnanya putih.
fence-*nya* colour-*nya* white
The fence is white. (lit: Concerning the fence, its colour is white.)

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[18] *h-t*: (pronounced *ha te*) initials for *handy talkie* 'walkie-talkie'.

(136) as nominaliser and definitiser:

.. jadi sekarang kita mo ngomonginnya topiknya soal cewek.
so now we want talk-*nya* topic-*nya* matter girl
.. so now we are going to talk about the topic of girls.

(137) as linker and third person possessor:

Nggak pernah mau liat mukanya gurunya itu.
not ever want see face-*nya* teacher-*nya* that
He's never willing to look at his teacher's face.

In the following passage *-nya* occurs six times. The first (*ujung-ujungnya* 'finally') is part of a set expression, the second (*persiapannya* 'preparations') is identifier, the third (*krunya* 'the crew) is identifier, the fourth (*datengnya* 'the coming') is nominalisation, the fifth (*syutingnya* 'shooting') is identification and the sixth (*suruh datengnya* 'the ordering.to.come') is nominalisation. This final instance is a compound, deriving from *(di)suruh dateng* 'told to come', with absence of *di-* (see §2.9).

(138) Ujung-ujungnya kita syuting cuma lima belas menit, persiapannya
finally-*nya* we shooting only [15] minute preparation-*nya*

dari pagi, belom krunya datengnya telat, segala macem.
from morning not.yet crew-*nya* come-*nya* late [all sorts]

Syutingnya itu baru jam dua belas malem. Suruh datengnya
shooting-*nya* that just hour [12] night order come-*nya*

dari jam sepulu pagi.
from hour ten morning
Finally we were shooting for only fifteen minutes. We were preparing from morning, not to mention the crew arriving late and all sorts of things. The shooting didn't actually begin until twelve at night. We were told to come at ten in the morning.

2.8.8 *-nya* serving two functions concurrently

Where a construction contains a subject and a nominalised verb – a common occurrence in CJI – it often bears a strong resemblance to a topic-comment clause (see §2.17). In such cases *-nya* could be regarded as both nominalising the verb and marking the place of the topic. This analysis is particularly attractive where the preceding noun is highlighted:

(139) Mereka itu narinya bagus banget.
they that dance-*nya* beautiful very
(As for them) their dancing is really beautiful.

With this interpretation, *mereka itu* 'they' in the example above is the topic and *narinya* 'their dancing' is the subject. In the following example *saya .. umurnya* 'as for me, my age ..' is a topic-comment construction. Since *saya .. lahirnya* 'as for me, my birth ..' has the same structure, *-nya* here must also be a topic marker, while at the same time nominalising *lahir* 'be born':

(140) Saya sekarang umurnya dua puluh enam .. lahirnya taon tuju empat.
I now age-*nya* [26] be.born-*nya* year ['74]
I'm now 26 years old. I was born in 'seventy four.

The following example is also a topic-comment clause, *kalo* being common in such constructions (see §2.20):

(141) Kalo gua sih mikirnya gini ..
if I *dp* think-*nya* like.this
What I think is .. (lit: As for me, the thinking is ..)

That (141) is a topic-comment clause (as well as having a nominalised verb) is shown by the following, which differs only in that it contains the noun *pikiran* 'thoughts' rather than the nominalised verb *mikirnya* 'the thinking':

(142) Kalo gua pikirannya gini ..
if I thoughts-*nya* like.this
What I think is ..

The fact that *-nya* can be regarded as both marking a topic and nominalising at the same time highlights the fact that its function in CJI is often open to various interpretations. Perhaps more accurately it can be said that it is often open to two interpretations at the same time, a problem for setting up rigid categories of function for *-nya*. In the following *-nya* can be regarded as a linker or definitiser or both at the same time:

(143) Nah, kalo dari yang selama ini elu liat, korban-korbannya
now if from what [up till now] you see victims-*nya*

dia ini, apakah hanya cewek-cewek yang dikategorikan sebagai
he this whether only girls who categorised as

cukup mengundang, atau ..
quite invite or
Now, from what you've seen until now, these victims of his, are they only the girls who are categorised as quite inviting, or ..

2.9 Active and passive voice

Active and passive constructions in FI are described in RG 3.26–40. Here some aspects of voice in CJI are considered.

The person or thing spoken about is usually the subject of a clause. In an active transitive clause the actor is expressed as the subject and the verb is active. The verb can be prefixed with *meN-*, *N-*, *nge-* or have no prefix (see §2.3). The subject usually precedes the verb and the object follows:

(144) Mereka hanya bisa ngegaji setengah dari gaji saya yang sebelumnya.
they only can *nge*-pay half of pay my which previous
They can only pay half of my previous salary.

(145) Indra bawain gua baju banyak banget.
I bring me clothes much very
Indra brought me lots of clothes.

The passive construction has two different forms, called here 'passive type one' and 'passive type two' [RG 3.27–29]. In passive constructions the subject is the patient. Passives occur more frequently than in English, often occurring where a passive would not be acceptable in English; passives in a number of examples below have translations in active voice because a passive in English would be stilted at best. This is further discussed below.

In passive type one the verb has prefix *di-* and the actor is expressed in an agent phrase which follows the verb. The agent can be marked by a preposition, either *sama* ~ *ama* or *oleh* 'by' (see §2.10.1):

(146) Saya ditelefon oleh kepala sekolah.
I *di*-telephone by head school
I was phoned by the school principal.

(147) Alis gua dibentuk sama dia.
eyebrows my *di*-shape by him
My eyebrows were shaped by him.

The actor can also occur without a preposition. In this case it must immediately follow the verb:

(148) Gue ditinggal pacar gua.
I *di*-leave boyfriend my
I was left by my boyfriend.

(149) .. tindakan-tindakan yang dianggap pihak kampus sebage radikal.
actions which *di*-consider side campus as radical
.. actions which were considered by the university authorities as radical.

In FI passive type one only occurs with third person agents. In CJI occurrence with first person, although infrequent, is acceptable:

(150) Mereka dibantu sama kita juga loh.
they *di*-help by us also *dp*
They were also helped by us.

(151) Yang diajar saya tu orang-orang keren semua.
who *di*-teach me that people top all
The ones taught by me were all top people.

In passive type two the verb has no prefix and the actor is a pronoun or pronoun substitute preceding the verb. All three persons can occur. Often an active clause is required in the Engish translation:

(152) Kurikulumnya gua buat sendiri.
curriculum-*nya* I make self
I composed the curriculum myself.

(153) Nasinya lu kemanain?
rice-*nya* you put.where
Where did you put the rice?

In FI prescriptively nothing can come between agent and verb in passive type two. In CJI this is also usually the case. In the first example below temporal *udah* and negative *kagak* precede the agent *gua*, and in the second modal *bisa* precedes the agent *dia*:

(154) Yang laennya tuh udah kagak gua kenal lagi.
which other-*nya* that already not I know more
I don't know the others anymore.

(155) Yang bisa dia lakukan hanya minta.
which can he do only beg
All he can do is beg.

However, the rule is not strictly kept in CJI and it is not uncommon for a preverbal component of the predicate to appear between the agent and the verb, as do *enggak* and *tidak* 'not' and *mau* 'intend' in the following:

(156) Yang sebelah sini gua nggak liat.
which side this I not see
I don't see the ones on this side.

(157) Ini yang mereka tidak pikirkan.
this which they not think.about
This is what they don't think about.

(158) Ini yang kita mau angkat.
this which we intend raise
This is what we are going to raise.

In FI nouns cannot occur as agent in passive type two (unless they are pronoun substitutes). In CJI this is possible:

(159) Kalo elu yang beli harga nggak akan sama dengan yang
if you who buy price not will same with which

Ronny atau Anyun ambil.
R or A get
If you're the one who buys it the price won't be the same as what Ronny or Anyun get.

(160) .. apa yang bokap gua perlakukan.
what which dad my do
.. what my father does.

(161) *The dark side of Yuli*, yang banyak orang enggak tau.
which many people not know
The dark side of Yuli, which many people don't know.

Passives in both forms of Indonesian, as in English, allow a statement of an action when the agent is not mentioned, generally because it is not relevant to the situation:

(162) Sekarang temboknya udah dicat warna kuning.
now wall-*nya* already *di*-paint colour yellow
Now the wall has been painted yellow.

(163) Gua dimundurin gara-gara lahirnya bulan Oktober.
I *di*-hold.back because born-*nya* month O
I was held back because I was born in October.

This is the major function of passives; the overwhelming majority of passives with *di-* (passive type one) have no agent expressed. There is remarkable similarity for the different age groups distinguished and all three contexts. The averages for the different categories are shown in the following table, the details being given in Appendix B Table 3:[19]

Table 3: Frequency of passive type one without an agent

text type	% *di-* passives with no agent
younger conversations	85.2
younger interviews	85.3
older conversations	92.6
older interviews	90.4
meetings	89.8

On the other hand the agent is almost never ellipted from passive type two clauses, although it is possible in CJI. In the following the ellipted pronoun is placed in square brackets in the English translation:

(164) Gua baru baca di Femina yang baru beli itu tadi pagi.
I just read in F which new buy that [this morning]
I've just read it in Femina which [I] just bought this morning.

(165) Kok elu mau pulang enggak dadain gua sih?
dp you want go.home not say.goodbye me *dp*

Gua dadain dulu baru dadain?
I say.goodbye first just say.goodbye
How come you're going home without saying goodbye to me? Only after I say goodbye do [you] say goodbye.

In unplanned discourse in English passives are rare.[20] Where there is an agent the construction will almost always be active. Since passives are more frequent in Indonesian some writers have rejected equating them with English passives and choose to avoid the term 'passive', using instead terms like 'object focus' and 'patient trigger'. Nevertheless, since the great majority of passive type one constructions, those with prefix *di-*, have no agent they must be translated into English by passive constructions. This shows that the constructions in the two languages have a great deal in common, justifying use of the term 'passive'.

Imperative structures can be passive, which is not possible in English [RG 4.36–7]:

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19 Verbs nominalised with *-nya* (see §2.7.6) were included in the count but accounted for a very small percentage of the total in all groups.

20 Ochs (1979:70) reports research which showed passives accounting for just 0.9% of verbs in unplanned narratives in English.

(166) Ronny, tolong diceritain gimana waktu pertama kali ketemu sama Obe.
R please *di*-tell how when first time meet with O
Ronny, please tell us about the first time you met Obe.

(167) Jangan dipegang! Jangan dipegang!
don't *di*-hold don't *di*-hold
Don't hold it! Don't hold it!

However, active clauses can occur in imperatives also:

(168) Ambilin dong, ambilin!
fetch *dp* fetch
Get them! Get them!

Some verbs which only occur intransitively in FI can be used as passive transitive verbs in CJI. The most common of these are *mau* ~ *mo* 'want', *tau* 'know' and *suka* 'like', although others also occur. Both examples below are passive type two, with the object (and the agent) preceding the verb:

(169) Cewek-cewek di Atma gua suka karena banyak yang cantik.
girls in A I like because many who pretty
I like the girls at Atma because lots of them are pretty.

(170) Sandy ikutin aja yang papi mau.
S follow just what dad want
I just went along with what dad wanted.

In FI these forms cannot occur in passive clauses. There are transitive equivalents, these being *maui*, *ketahui* and *sukai*, which occur in both active and passive constructions.

Further, adjectives referring to emotions and attitudes can occur in such passive constructions, such as *kecewa* 'disappointed' and *sebel* 'resentful, annoyed' below. Again, this is not possible in FI, where transitive verbs with suffix *-kan* would occur [RG 1.197]:

(171) Cuman yang gua kecewa ya satu hal itu aja.
only what I disappointed *dp* one matter that just
The only thing I'm disappointed about is that one thing.

(172) Kayak gitu yang gua sebel.
like thus which I resentful
That's the sort of thing I'm annoyed about.

When a transitive verb in CJI occurs without a prefix it can be either active (see §2.3) or passive type two. Because there is often ellipsis of elements understood in the context (see §3.1.1) the result is that out of context it is often not possible to tell whether such a verb is active or passive. In the following example the noun indicating patient is omitted from the last clause:

(173) Terus, organizer dia emang gua bawa pulang. Sengaja gua baca-baca.
then organiser his indeed I carry home deliberate I read
Then I took his organiser home. I deliberately read [it].

Only the fact that the preceding clause is passive allows the final clause to be identified as passive (from *organizer itu gua baca-baca*). In the following it is even less certain. The ellipted patient in the final clause is different from the patient in the preceding clause so there is little to identify voice. Word order (instead of *akan saya coba cari*) is not a good guide in CJI because (see above and examples 156–158) this order can occur in passive type two in CJI:

(174) Kalo Tuhan kasih dia untuk masuk IPA,[21] saya akan coba cari.
if God give him to enter science I will try seek
If God grants that he do sciences I will try to find (a school for him).

Because of the change of patient it is likely (174) derives from an active clause (*saya akan coba cari sekolah*) although this is not definite and so there is voice ambiguity. Because the voice of such constructions cannot be identified out of context – and sometimes not at all – some students of Indonesian grammar state that the concept of voice is not relevant here; such verbs are neither active nor passive.[22]

Sometimes a passive type one verb does not have prefix *di-*, even though it is clear that a passive is meant. In some cases this may simply be a performance error, particularly as it tends to occur when a speaker is engrossed in a topic and talking rapidly. Nevertheless, it is common enough to deserve mention:

(175) Waktu saya suruh pegang pistol di atas motor itu
when I [*di-*]order hold pistol at over motorbike that

.. dadanya suruh buka sedikit, saya nggak mau.
breast-*nya* [*di-*]order open a.little I not want
When I was told to hold a gun while sitting on the motor bike .. when I was told to show a bit of breast, I didn't want to.

The verb *suruh* 'order, tell', occurring in the above example, is the verb most frequently used in this way in the corpus. However, it is by no means confined to this verb. Two people omitted *di-* in the following, using *cabut* instead of *dicabut*:

(176) A: Dulu kan taring itu kan semua munculnya
previously *dp* canine that *dp* all appear-*nya*

gingsul, pat-empatnya. Jadi kan yang …
crooked all.four so *dp* which

B: cabut.
[*di-*]pulled.out

A: cabut semua.
[*di-*]pulled.out all

A: Previously my canines all came through crooked, all four. So they were …

B: pulled out.

A: all pulled out.

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21 *IPA* : initials for *ilmu pengetahun alam* 'natural sciences'.

22 Including Englebretson (2003:20).

One difficulty in determining whether active or passive is more likely to occur in a particular context is the fact that in CJI conversation there is freqently what appears to be unpredictable shifting between the two constructions; that is, it is common for a speaker to switch between active and passive in an apparently random way. In the following example the first verb (*buat*) is passive (type two), the second (*buat*) is active (with prefixless verb) and the third (*ngajar*) is active (with prefix):

(177) Kurikulumnya gua buat sendiri, gua buat *lesson plan* sendiri,
curriculum-*nya* I make self I make self

gua ngajar sendiri.
I teach self
I made the curriculum myself; I made the lesson plan myself, I taught it myself.

In the next example (from text [03] in Chapter 4) verbs have the following voice:

B: active (*bersihin* with patient *-nya*), passive (*direbus*).

C: active (*masak*), active (*pake*) (with patients following the verbs)

A: passive (*kemanain*)

B: passive (*ditempatin*), active (*taruh*), voice uncertain (*rebus* interpretable as either active or passive):

(178) B: Tapi kan .. gampang bersihinnya. Tinggal direbus aja ama aer.
but *dp* easy clean-*nya* remain *di*-boil just with water

C: Tetep aja lu mesti masak air lagi. Pake panci kan?
remain just you must cook water more use pan *dp*

A: Nasinya lu kemanain?
rice-*nya* you put.where

B: Ya kan uda ditempatin dulu, .. Kan taro aer, lu rebus lagi.
dp *dp* already *di*-place first *dp* put water you boil again

B: But it's easy to clean it (the pan). All you have to do is boil it with water.

C: But you still have to boil more water. You do it in the pan don't you?

A: Where do you put the rice?

B: Well, you've put the rice in something first .. You put in water and you boil it again, right?

Along with the indeterminacy of voice of prefixless verbs discussed above, the variation of voice such as that of *buat* 'make' in example (177) also leads some to regard voice as irrelevant here.

The following also shows a shift from active to passive in an apparently unpredictable way, with active *membandingkan* 'compare' first being used and then passive *dibandingkan* 'compared':

(179) Mereka tuh selalu membandingkan dengan diri dia sendiri.
they that always *men*-compare-*kan* with [themselves]

Kebanyakan gitu. Selalu dibandingkan dengan diri dia sendiri.
majority thus always *di*-compare-*kan* with [themselves]
They always compare it with themselves. The majority do. They always compare it with themselves.

2.10 Prepositions

A prepositional phrase consists of a preposition and a noun phrase. The preposition links the following noun phrase to another component of the sentence. Formal Indonesian has a considerable stock of prepositions, allowing a clear distinction of semantic relationships between verbs and nouns in isolated sentences [RG 2.118–131]. Corresponding to a number of them is a single preposition in CJI: *sama*, discussed in §2.10.1. Apart from *sama* CJI prepositions are by and large the same as in FI. However, there are a few other differences, which are discussed below.

2.10.1 *sama*

Expressing a variety of relationships *sama* exhibits semantic under-differentiation compared with the semantic precision of prepositions in FI. *Sama* can also function as a co-ordinator.

The following examples, in which *sama* is glossed *prep* (for preposition), illustrate some of the more common functions of *sama*.

In most of its occurrences *sama* alternates with *ama*, as in some of the examples below. In FI different prepositions occur corresponding to *sama* ~ *ama*. In some functions *sama* cannot be replaced by *ama*, particularly when it means 'same'; this is also the case in some phrases, such as *sama sekali (tidak)* '(not) at all'. Where *sama* cannot be replaced by *ama* it occurs in FI with the same function. This is further discussed in §2.2.2.

(i) *Sama* links an intransitive verb to a following complement. FI has a number of prepositions, such as *dengan*, *pada*, *terhadap*, *akan*, sometimes in free variation, although which ones can occur depends on the particular verb [see RG 2.130]. English has a preposition if the corresponding English verb is intransitive, such as 'at' in (180) and 'on' in (181), but no preposition if English employs a transitive verb plus object, as in (182).[23] In this section *sama* is glossed *prep* for 'preposition'.

(180) Gua marah sama dia.
I angry *prep* him
I'm angry at him.

(181) Dia nggak tergantung sama orang.
He not depend *prep* people
He doesn't depend on other people.

(182) Gua udah kenal sama itu anak.
I already know *prep* that kid
I know that kid.

---

[23] In some cases English may employ either an intransitive verb plus preposition or transitive verb plus object for the same CJI. Thus *ngomong sama dia* may be translated 'say to him' or 'tell him' depending on the precise context.

(ii) *Sama* corresponds to FI *kepada* 'to' following a verb, to mark the recipient:

(183) Gua dikenalin ama cowoknya.
I introduced *prep* boyfriend-her
I was introduced to her boyfriend.

(184) Trus dia bilang ama temen gue, ..
then he say *prep* friend my
Then he said to my friend, ..

(iii) *Sama* corresponds to FI *dari* 'from' where the clause indicates the object is taken/ received/obtained from someone:

(185) Si Astrid suka minjem duit sama bokapnya.
dim A like borrow money *prep* father-her
Astrid is always borrowing money from her father.

Sama ~ *ama* does not indicate physical direction from a place, *dari* always occurring in this context:

(186) Aslinya kan dari gunung.
origin-their *dp* from mountain
They originally came from the mountains, you know.

(iv) *Sama* corresponds to FI *dengan* 'with', *bersama dengan* 'together with' and *dan* 'and' where they indicate accompaniment or reciprocal relationship:

(187) Gua sama bokap gua juga enggak deket.
I *prep* father my also not close
My father and I aren't close either.

(188) Jadi dia nanti kalo dikawinin ama anjing betina gua dapet
so it soon if mated *prep* dog female I get
duit gitu.
money so
So if it is mated with a bitch I'll get money, you see.

(189) Di keluarga gue perempuan tuh bener-bener disamain
in family my female that really treated.the.same
sama cowok.
prep male
In my family females are really treated the same as males.

In some situations indicating reciprocal relationship English uses 'to' rather than 'with'. Here also *sama* (or *dengan*) occurs:

(190) Gua deket sama dia.
I close *prep* her
I'm close to her.

A reciprocal relationship may be contrastive, as with *beda/laen sama* 'different from'. Here also *dengan* occurs in FI:

(191) Ini celana laen ama yang tadi gua coba, ya?
this trousers other *prep* which just I try *dp*
These trousers are different from those I tried just now, aren't they?

(vi) *Sama* is sometimes used to mean the same as *dan* 'and' where it indicates simple co-ordination rather than a reciprocal relationship:

(192) Mereka kasih saya kesempatan sepuluh hari untuk pergi ikut
they give me opportunity ten day to go join

cruise ke Penang sama Phuket.
to P *prep* P
They gave me the opportunity to join a ten-day cruise to Penang and Phuket.

(vii) *Sama* corresponds to FI *oleh* 'by' to indicate the agent following a passive verb:

(193) Gua enggak diterima sama orangtuanya dan dia juga ditolak
I not accepted *prep* parents-his and he also rejected

sama keluarga gua.
prep family my.
I was not accepted by his parents and he too was rejected by my family.

(194) Gue diajarin ama orangtua gua juga untuk kritis, gitu loh.
I taught *prep* parents my also to critical thus *dp*
I was also taught by my parents to be critical.

In the following the two prepositions were used in consecutive clauses:

(195) Kalo dia pulang, akan dibunuh sama laskar-laskar jihad, ato
if he go.home will killed *prep* laskar jihad or

dibunuh oleh militer.
killed by military
If he goes home he will be killed by the laskar jihad or killed by the military.

The following table shows the number of cases of *oleh* and *sama ~ ama* meaning 'by' (marking agent of passives) in texts:

Table 4: Frequency of words for agent preposition 'by'

	sama~ama	*oleh*	total	*sama~ama* as %
Conversations	55	10	65	84.6
Interviews	49	58	107	45.8
meetings	1	23	24	4.2

The figures show that *sama* is quite highly informal, dropping off significantly in semi-formal contexts. Individual figures are shown in Appendix B Table 4.

Because of the under-differentiation in meaning of *sama ~ ama*, an understanding of the context is often essential to interpreting its meaning. Thus out of context *beli sama dia* could mean 'buy from her' or 'buy (go shopping) with her'. This is discussed in §3.1.2.

As in other cases where there are variables with H and L variants, speakers may shift from one variant to the other even in successive sentence. In the following example the speaker first uses *dengan* 'as, with' and then shifts to *sama*:

(196) Tinggalnya satu kompleks dengan aku. Tapi ini kejadiannya
live-*nya* one complex with me but this happening-*nya*

setelah dia tidak tinggal lagi satu kompleks sama saya.
after he not live more one complex *prep* me
He lived in the same complex as me. But this happened after he no longer lived in the same complex as me.

2.10.2 *ke* and *kepada*

In FI *kepada* is the common preposition indicating action towards a person. It is very infrequently used in CJI, *ke* occurring instead:

(197) Soalnya banyak banget yang *complain* ke gue.
thing.is many very who to me
The thing is there are lots of people who complain to me.

(198) Aku cerita ke istriku.
I relate to wife-my
I told my wife.

(199) Dititipin ke sodara lagi yang lebi deket sama sekolahan.
entrusted to relative other who more close to school
[I] was entrusted to another relative who lived closer to the school.

Kepada was entirely absent from 22 texts, being common only in [16], the most formal interview, where it occurred 24 times. It was used 13 times in one of the meetings but only four times in the other meeting, along with four instances of *ke*.

Sama can also occur with the meaning 'to (a person)', as discussed in §2.10.1.

2.10.3 *pake*

In FI the verb *pakai* means 'use; wear'. It occurs in CJI as *pake*:

(200) Harus pake baju adat Jawa?
must wear clothes customary Javanese
Do you have to wear traditional Javanese costume (when you get married)?

It also occurs in CJI as a preposition meaning 'with', indicating an instrument. As such it is synonymous with *dengan*:

(201) Untung kagak ada yang nimpukin gue pake kapur, segala macem.
lucky not be who pelt me with chalk [all sorts]
Luckily no one pelted me with chalk or the like.

(202) Batangnya tuh dilingkarin gini, diiket pake pita merah.
stem-*nya* that wrapped like.this tied with ribbon red
The stem is wrapped like this, tied with red ribbon.

Often, as in FI, *pake/dengan* meaning 'with' can be omitted in passive clauses [see RG 3.37]:

(203) Diket-iket pita merah jadi bagus, yah?
tied ribbon red which pretty *dp*
If it's tied up with red ribbon it's pretty, isn't it?

2.11 Temporal markers

Temporal markers, also called aspect markers, precede predicates to indicate that an action or state has occurred, is occurring, or is yet to occur in relation to the moment of utterance or in relation to some other event or state referred to [RG 2.142–152]. Some, including *masih* 'still', *baru* 'just', *pernah* 'ever', are the same as in FI. Those which differ from FI are discussed here. Word order, co-occurrence and so on are as in FI.

2.11.1 *lagi* and *sedang*

These indicate action in progress (glossed 'present' in word-for-word translations). *Lagi* very rarely occurs in formal contexts but is the usual indicator of action in progress in CJI:

(204) Gua lagi bosen ngajar.
I present bored teach
I'm bored with teaching.

(205) Dia juga kebetulan lagi makan di situ.
he also by.chance present eat at there
He happened to be eating there too.

(206) Waktu itu gua lagi nggak ada.
time that I present not be
At the time I wasn't there.

In this meaning *lagi* precedes the verb or other predicate centre. In other contexts it usually means 'still; again', as in FI:

(207) Gua samperin lagi itu dosen.
I approach again that lecturer
I approached the lecturer again.

Sedang was absent from conversations except for one instance, in which it was used facetiously, and was very rarely used in interviews. However, in meetings *sedang* was used more than *lagi*, with *lagi* only occuring in one meeting, [22], which for most variables was more formal than the other meeting. *Lagi* and *sedang* are thus highly marked for informal and formal speech respectively, as shown in the following table (see Appendix B Table 5 for details):

Table 5: Frequency of *lagi/sedang* variants

	lagi	*sedang*	total	*% lagi*
conversations	92	1	93	98.9
interviews	65	6	71	91.5
meetings	2	8	10	20.0

2.11.2 *udah* and *sudah*

These usually indicate that an action has occurred or that a state has been achieved [RG 2.143]. *Udah* – usually pronounced *uda* (see §2.0) – occurs significantly more frequently than *sudah* in all conversations and interviews. Only in the meetings is *sudah* more common:[24]

(208) Nyokap gue tuh udah tau.
mum my that already know
My mother already knows.

(209) Skarang saya udah punya duit.
now I already have money
Now I have money.

Udah and *sudah* in CJI belong to a group of variables which involve loss of initial *s* in more informal contexts. They are further discussed along with other such variables in §2.2.1.

2.11.3 *bakal*, *bakalan* and *akan*

These indicate a future event or state, usually translatable 'will; going to':

(210) Kalo aku dapet *chance* aku akan sekolah ke luar negri,
if I get I will school to outside country
gitu loh.
thus *dp*
If I get the chance I will study overseas, you know.

(211) Gua pikir gua gak bakal lulus.
I think I not will pass
I dont think I'm going to pass.

(212) Kalo menurut elo, mungkin nggak Megawati bakalan
if according.to you perhaps not M will
gantiin Gus Dur?
replace G D
Do you think Megawati will replace Gus Dur, or not?

Akan is the common word in FI, although *bakal* sometimes occurs. In CJI also *akan* is more common, although some younger speakers prefer *bakal*. *Bakalan* is rare and is absent from most texts. Neither *bakal* nor *bakalan* is recorded in the speech of older people, nor in the meetings. The following figures are drawn from a limited number of texts. Details showing the range of possibilities in texts involving younger speakers are given in Appendix B Table 6:

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[24] Another variant *telah*, which occurs in FI along with *sudah*, is highly marked for H. In the corpus it occurs twice in one of the meetings [22] and only twice in the rest of the corpus. The derivative *setelah* 'after' also occurs, although much less frequently than *sesudah*.

Table 6: Frequency of words for 'will, going to'

	bakal	*bakalan*	*akan*	total	% *bakal* and *bakalan*
conversations	30	5	41	76	46.1
interviews	9	14	55	78	29.5
meetings	0	0	77	77	0

While *akan* is neutral as to formality and *bakal* does occur, though rarely, in FI, *bakal* and *bakalan* must be regarded as L variants, given their low percentage of occurrence in interviews and complete absence from meetings.

2.12 Negatives

Negatives precede the predicate. Before a nominal predicate the negative is *bukan*, as in FI [RG 2.134]. Before non-nominal predicates *belum* indicates that something has not yet occurred, as in FI [RG 2.156]. This is frequently pronounced *blum* and *b(e)lom*. There is also a variant *b(e)lon*.

The negative with other non-nominal predicates in FI is *tidak*, as in *tidak baik* 'not good', *tidak pergi* 'not going'. It also occurs in the meaning 'no' in answer to a question. *Tidak* has very low frequency of occurrence in CJI. Its frequency is particularly low in conversations but it is also rare in interviews.[25] Far more common in CJI is *enggak*. This is frequently pronounced *nggak* and sometimes *ngga*, although the difference is not indicated here.[26] A reduced variant *gak* also occurs, usually in rapid speech, again not distinguished here from *enggak*:[27]

(213) Gue kan enggak doyan sayur.
I *dp* not like vegetables
I don't like vegetables, you know.

(214) Dia waktu itu di Matraman, kalo enggak salah.
he time that in M if not wrong
He was in Matraman at that time, if I'm not mistaken.

Another word occurring in CJI is Jakarta Malay *kagak*:

(215) Ye, kagak ngerti nih orang.
exc not understand this person
Ah, this person doesn't understand.

---

[25] Despite its very low frequency in informal speech *tidak* is the only negative mentioned in *Tata Bahasa Baku* as occurring in non-nominal predicates. *Kamus Besar* lists *enggak* and *kagak* as conversational Jakartan.

[26] Writings on CJI and other colloquial varieties usually spell this word <nggak>, including Sneddon (2003). However, *Kamus Besar* spells it <enggak> as does the *Muda* 'Youth' section of *Kompas* newspaper. This spelling is thus becoming standard for Indonesians and is followed in discussion here. In examples it is spelled as pronounced, as mentioned in §2.0.

[27] *Gak* could alternatively be regarded as a variant of *kagak*. However, *gak* is recorded in the speech of people who do not use *kagak* and consequently it is treated here as a variant of *enggak*.

Kagak only occurred infrequently in the informal speech of the people recorded for this study and only in one text did it occur more frequently than *tidak*. Moreover, in conversations its use was limited to a few speakers; thus in one conversation it occurred eight times, all in the speech of one participant.

Another colloquial word is *ndak*. This almost never occurred in the speech of younger people and was only used by a few in the older group:

(216) Gua agak menyesal kemaren ndak menghabiskan yang item-item ini.
I rather regret yesterday not finish which black this
I rather regret I didn't finish off these black ones yesterday.

Frequency of the forms is shown in the following table:

Table 7a: Frequency of words meaning 'not; no'

	enggak	*kagak*	*ndak*	*tidak*	total	% L
conversations	2207	36	18	48	2309	97.9
interviews	2285	5	1	186	2472	92.7
meetings	160	1	11	145	317	54.3

Details are given in Appendix B Table 7.

While conversations among younger speakers show great similarity in the frequencies of the variants, with *tidak* very rarely occurring, there was significantly more variation among younger people in interviews. Those who were somewhat more formal overall also showed it in this variable. The two extremes in the use of *tidak* were the following:

Table 7b: Extremes of frequency of H and L variants for 'not; no'

text	*enggak*	*tidak*	*% enggak*
17	106	71	59.6
23	307	2	99.4

The speaker in [17], a 22 year old female student, freely alternated between *tidak* and *enggak*, as can be seen in the passage in §4.4. Several older interviewees never used *tidak*.

In the meetings *tidak* was more frequent than in the other situations, out-numbering L variants 85 to 76 in [22], the only recording in which *tidak* was the most frequent form.

In Indonesian society *enggak* is strongly identified with informal speech and if used in the mainstream press, when someone is quoted, it is italicised as a sign that the publication dissociates itself from its use in a formal setting. Nevertheless, as the table above shows, it is overwhelmingly the most common form in CJI. Along with the other, rarer, L variants it occurred more than 90% of times in all categories except the meetings. Even in the more formal contexts, the meetings, it was far from rare, on average occurring more than *tidak*. It is one of the most persistent L variants in more formal contexts in any variable considered. In fact, it is possible that it is becoming more acceptable in formal settings. As mentioned elsewhere, the respected Jakarta daily *Kompas* now uses it instead of *tidak* in its youth section, *Muda*.

2.13 Pronouns

There are a considerable number of personal pronouns in CJI, particularly for first person. Choice depends to a significant extent on the social context of speech, especially on the speaker's relationship to the addressee. But even in similar social situations different speakers of similar age, education and social group, may make quite different choices and, moreover, many alternate between different pronouns in what seems a random fashion. More than any other aspect of speech, personal pronoun choice depends on pragmatic context, such that it would not be possible to capture every aspect of usage without a very thorough study. The statistics given in this section are to some extent distorted because of the inability to capture all social contexts in the recording. Ellipsis of pronouns is also common, as discussed in §3.1.1.

There are numerous differences in first and second pronoun choice between CJI and FI. In addition to pronouns a number of pronoun substitutes are used. Pronoun substitutes, mainly personal names and kinship terms, occur in both CJI and FI and are therefore not markers of either formal or informal language. Use of one's own name as a pronoun substitute is not common among adults, although one 27-year-old married woman named Sandy, used her name consistently (216 times) in an interview:

(217) Sandy pikir daripada Sandy ngecewain orangtua Sandy ..
S think rather.than S disappoint parent S

Sandy ikutin aja yang papi mau.
S follow just what dad want
I thought rather than disappointing my parents .. I'd do what my dad wanted.

Kin terms like *ibu* and *mami* 'mother', *bapak* 'father', *oom* 'uncle' also occur, either for reference to oneself, the addressee or another person. Such terms are usually used of oneself when, for instance, speaking to children.[28] They are usually used for 'you' when addressing older people. In the following a student reports what he said to a lecturer, using *bapak* 'father' for 'you':

(218) Gua bilang, 'kok bapak menyalahkan saya, gitu?'
I say *dp* father blame me thus
'How come you're blaming me?' I said.

Ellipsis of pronouns is frequent in CJI, as discussed in §3.1.1. Use of *-nya* instead of a first or second person pronoun also occurs, as in the following:

(219) Baru berapa minggu gitu di Amerika, bahasa Inggrisnya
just several week thus in A language English-*nya*

masih ngaco.
still weak
I'd only been in America for a few weeks and my English was still weak.

---

[28] No recordings were made involving children. However, these terms occurred in quotes. Thus one woman used *mami* 'mother' 26 times when quoting conversations between herself and her children and another used it 93 times when discussing her own mother (including quoting herself addressing her mother and her mother addressing her).

(220) Nama lengkapnya siapa?
name complete-*nya* who
What is your full name?

This use of *-nya* is discussed in §2.8.1. Despite considerable pronoun ellipsis, Indonesian is by no means a pronoun-avoiding language, as are some Asian languages. For instance, in one text of approximately 9600 words a 47-year-old woman used *saya* 'I' 830 times and a 27-year-old man used *gua ~ gue* 'I' 395 times in a text of approximately 8000 words.

The various personal pronouns are considered in the following subsections.

2.13.1 First person single

The pronouns for first person singular in CJI are *gua ~ gue*, *saya* and *aku*.[29]

The pronouns *gua* and *gue* (derived from Hokkien Chinese) occur in Jakarta Malay and are typically associated with youth and very informal situations.[30] Among young people recorded *gua* and *gue* are by far the most frequently used pronouns in communication with peers, such as in the conversations among friends. They are almost never used to elders except within the family. The pronoun *aku*, with possessive form *-ku*, is an intimate pronoun used mainly between equals with solidarity or from higher to lower. *Saya* is the most common pronoun in FI; in CJI it usually signals social distance and rarely occurs in discourse between young peers. However, it was used frequently by older speakers and in the meetings almost no other pronoun occurred.

(i) *gua* and *gue*

The choice between *gua* and *gue* appears to be entirely random, although most people favour one or the other. *Gua* is far more frequent in most people's usage, some using it almost exclusively. A few, however, use *gue* almost exclusively. It is not uncommon for a speaker to shift from one to the other, even in the one sentence:

(221) Gua kangen banget sama cowok gue.
I miss very with boyfriend my
I missed my boyfriend very much.

(222) Pokoknya, gue kalo uda nari, gua nari buat gua sendiri.
thing.is I if already dance I dance for I self

Jadi ya makasih kalo orang bayar gue, ya makasih banyak
so *dp* thanks if person pay me *dp* thanks much

mereka nonton gua.
they watch me
The thing is if I dance I dance for myself. So thanks if people pay me; yes, thanks a lot if they watch me.

---

[29] *Tata Bahasa Baku* recognises only *saya* and *aku*.

[30] *Gua* is also common in the colloquial Indonesian spoken in Central Java. Rafferty (1979:174) mentions that *gua* and *lu* (meaning 'you') 'carry the meaning of a cosmopolitan life style and are used by many young intellectuals'.

While these pronouns did occur at times in the speech of older people in the corpus they were not frequent. In conversations between older people *gua* was used 21 times and *gue* three times, almost all instances[31] being by one woman. Otherwise it did not occur in the recordings of people above 35 years of age.

(ii) *aku* and *-ku*

Like *gua ~ gue*, *aku* is rarely used to elders or social superiors. It is used either to juniors or to familiar peers. Most people recorded never used it. A few young people used it occasionally, though preferring *gua ~ gue*, while a very few used it more than other pronouns. Thus one 24 year old male used *aku* (including possessive form *-ku*) 97 times and *gua ~ gue* 40 times. Standing out as quite different from other young people was a 20-year-old female who used *aku/-ku* 287 times (*aku* 219 times, *-ku* 68 times) but never used *gua ~ gue*:

(223) Aku tiga bersaudara sama aku. Terus kakakku perempuan.
I three have-sibling with me then older.sibling-my female

Adikku juga perempuan.
younger.sibling-my also female
I'm one of three siblings. My older sibling is female; my younger sibiling is also female.

Where *aku* occurred in conversations between young people it was usually almost always used by one participant. Thus in one conversation it occurred 15 times, of which 12 times were by one participant. (In comparison *gua* was used 273 times in that text.)[32]

Older people were more inclined to use *aku* when speaking with the younger interviewer. In conversations between older friends it was the predominant pronoun, occurring 191 times in one conversation, as against 54 instances of *saya*.

(iii) *saya*

In conversations among young people *saya* is most frequently used when reporting conversations with or between other people. In the following, speakers in their 20s refer to themselves as *gua* to their friends but use *saya* when quoting what they said to an older person:

(224) 'Kebetulan kelompok saya cuma dua'. Gua bilang gitu.
by.chance group my only two I say thus
'My group happened to have just two.' That's what I said.
(By a student reporting what he said to a lecturer.)

(225) Makanya gua tanya terakhir sama dokter gigi gua kan,
thus I ask last.time to [dentist] my *dp*

---

[31] In studies of discourse analysis it is common for each occurrence of an item to be called a 'token' of the item. In this study the term 'instance' of an item is used.

[32] Although it cannot be determined from the corpus, native speakers stated that people are most likely to use *aku* when speaking to an intimate. For instance, male and female friends will replace *gua* with *aku* if they begin dating. However, some young interviewees used *aku* when clearly they did not have such a relationship with the interviewer. See also §2.13.3 example (235) and the discussion preceding it.

'Tante, gimana? Gigi bungsu saya udah tumbuh, belum?'
aunt how tooth wisdom my already emerge not.yet
That's why the last time I asked my dentist, 'How is it, Ma'am?
Have my wisdom teeth come through yet?'

Presumably, if younger people had been recorded speaking to older people with whom they did not have a close relationship they would have used *saya* instead of the other pronouns, although, as mentioned, people speaking to their parents used *gua*. In a very limited number of cases *saya* was used to other participants in conversations, as an alternative to *gua*. In interviews there was a great deal of variation in first person pronoun use but the proportion of *saya* to *gua* was greater among young people in interviews than in the conversations. In one text the interviewee used *saya* frequently at the beginning of the interview, then switched to *gua* (discussed below). In one case a 25-year-old female first referred to herself as *gua* just once, then used *saya* exclusively. In another a 34-year-old man used *saya* 123 times and no other pronoun.

Among older people *saya* was frequently used. In a short conversation between university staff it was the only pronoun used, although in other conversations between older people, all of whom were close friends, *aku* was more common. Almost exclusively *saya* was the pronoun used in meetings, pointing to the formal, impersonal nature of this pronoun.

(iv) variation between pronouns

Shifting from one pronoun to another occurred in some interviews. In one text [13] the interviewee referred to herself as *saya* at the beginning of the interview. When she told how she called a police car she turned to friends who were listening and emphasised that this was true, using *gua* in the aside:

(226) Saya panggil polisi. Iya, gua manggil mobil polisi.
I call police yes I call car police
I called the police. Yes, I called a police car [aside to friends].

This interviewee periodically alternated between *saya* and *gua ~ gue*. Use of *saya* at the beginning of the interview can be explained by a certain amount of formality (which, however, was not indicated by other characteristics of her speech), with shift to *gua* shortly afterwards. However, a later shift back to *saya* cannot be explained by appeal to anything like formality of the social situation. Nothing in text [13], either in degree of formality or the topic, appears to explain the variation, other than that it was random but that, having chosen one pronoun, she stuck to it for a while. The first shift from *saya* to *gua* occurred during a discussion of her experiences as a dancer. She shifted back to *saya* while this topic continued. (The first quarter of this text, which shows the shifts in pronoun usage, is given in §4.3).

While such alternation between pronouns was not common it was characteristic of some other speakers. One 46-year-old woman in interview [38] used *saya* 146 times and *aku/-ku* 260 times, frequently shifting from one to the other. An example of such shifting occurs in §2.10.1 example (196).

Among the younger people interviewed the following varieties of personal reference occurred in sample texts:

(i) [13]: 'Free' variation between *gua* and *saya*.

(ii) [15a]: Exclusive use of own name as a pronoun substitute.

(iii) [15b] and [16]: Exclusive use of *saya*.

(iv) [17] and [23]: Exclusive or almost exclusive use of *gua ~ gue*.

(v) [21]: Almost exclusive use of *aku*.

A full table of first person single pronoun occurrence is given in Appendix B Table 8. Since younger usage and older usage were so different the categories are distinguished here:

Table 8a: Frequency of first person singular pronouns

	gua	*gue*	*saya*	*aku/-ku*	total	*% gua~gue*
younger conversations	1614	133	22	133	1902	91.8
younger interviews	957	587	506	288	2338	66.0
older conversations	21	3	91	233	348	6.9
older interviews	0	0	985	401	1386	0
meetings	0	0	279	11	290	0

2.13.2 First person plural

In FI there is a strict inclusive-exclusive distinction: *kita* 'we inclusive' and *kami* 'we exclusive'. In CJI this distinction does not occur, with *kita* being the general word for 'we', whether inclusive or exclusive.[33]

In the texts *kami* very rarely occurred. As a few examples, in one interview *kita* occurred 67 times and in another it occurred 191 times, while *kami* did not occur at all in either text. The earliest text in which *kami* occurred was [17]. In this it was used twice only, in one short passage:

(227) Kami – yah kita ngeliat itu sebagai sesuatu yang menolong
we *exc* we see that as something which help

mahasiswa.
student
We, ah we see it as something that helps the students.

(228) Padahal secara bukti, tidak ada bukti bahwa kami
whereas a.manner proof not be proof that we

melakukannya dan memang kita tidak melakukannya, gitu loh.
do-it and indeed we not do-it thus *dp*
Whereas factually there is no proof that we did it and in fact we didn't do it, you see.

On the two occasions *kami* was used in [17] it was followed by *kita* in the same sentence, the first time *kita* appearing to be a self-correction. This is despite the fact that the language used was rather formal. In (227) above only *ngeliat* 'see' is informal, all

[33] Although this has been noted by others for informal language it is usually not commented on in grammars. *Tata Bahasa Baku*, for instance, contains no suggestion that the distinction is not always strictly maintained.

other verbs in the two sentences being formal, with prefix *meN-* and, where applicable, suffix *-kan* (see §2.7). In the second sentence only *gitu loh* is typical of informal speech.

Apart from four instances in the speech of younger people, *kami* only occurred in the speech of older people, mainly in the meeting [22] and an interview with a 47-year-old woman [19–20], texts which were characterised by some other features of formal language. Even here it was infrequent, with *kita* generally being used without inclusive-exclusive distinction. Moreover, the distinction was not often maintained even when *kami* was used:

(229) Dan kalau memang sudah ada *green light* dari yayasan,
and if indeed already be from foundation

barulah kita mengadakan revisi dan melengkapi ke semuanya.
just-*lah* we do revision and complete to all

Karena masih ada beberapa hal yang masih belum selesai.
because still be several matter which still not.yet finished

Tapi saya pikir, kami akan buang waktu yah kalau kami
but I think we will throw time *dp* if we

melakukan itu lalu tau-tau kemudian ditolak.
do that then suddenly after rejected
And we won't make revisions and complete everything until we get the green light from the foundation. Because there are still a number of things which aren't finalised yet. But I think we will be wasting our time if we do it and then suddenly it's rejected.

Although first plural inclusive is meant in the above passage *kami* occurred twice, after *kita* first occurred. It is significant that of the five people in the meeting all 13 occurrences of *kami* were in the speech of one person, who used it ten times with the meaning 'we inclusive'.[34]

In [19–20] the same lack of distinction occurred:

(230) Jadi dia kuliah di UI. Itu menjadi panutan kita semua.
so he go.to.lecture at *UI* that become model we all

Yang paling besar jadi panutan. Dia kuliah di UI dan kami
who most big be model he go.to.lecture at *UI* and we

tinggal di Bogor. Dan dia harus naek kereta api untuk ke UI,
live in B and he must go.by [train] for to *UI*

dan .. sampe dia lulus itu kami masih miskin, nggak punya apa-apa.
and until he pass that we still poor not have anything
So he studied at UI (University of Indonesia). That one was the role model of us all. The oldest was the role model. He studied at UI and we lived in Bogor. And he had to take the train to go to UI, and until he passed we were still poor. We had nothing.

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[34] As an interesting aside, this person is one of the authors of the official grammar *Tata Bahasa Baku,* which does not recognise this usage!

Thus in the least informal texts for this study *kami* rarely occurred and when it did it was interchangeable with *kita*. Since the interviewee in [19–20] did not include the interviewer when meaning 'we' the possibility that she would use *kami* as 'we inclusive', as occurred in [22], cannot be tested. *Kami* occurred only in six texts as follows, with the number of occurrences for *kita* and *kami* in each:

Table 8b: First person plural pronouns

text	*kita*	*kami*
17	126	2
19	30	10
20	9	1
22	147	13
24	34	1
39	40	1

Kita-kita orang occurred once with the meaning 'we'. Some people used *kita-kita* a few times (though preferring *kita*):

(231) Jadi, waktu kecil sekali, kita-kita tu – karna mami kita itu kan
so time small very we-we that because mum our that *dp*

punya asma .. Jadinya kita-kita waktu kecilnya itu tinggal sama
have asthma so-*nya* we-we time little-*nya* that live with

nenek-kakek.
grandmother-grandfather
So when we were little, we – because our mother had asthma .. we lived with our grand parents.

2.13.3 Second person single

The common pronouns for second person singular in CJI are *elu* ~ *lu* and *kamu*.[35]

Second person pronoun *elu* or *lu* (derived from Hokkien Chinese) occurs in Jakarta Malay and, like *gua* and *gue*, is typically associated with the colloquial Indonesian of young people, although it also sometimes used by older people. It is the most common second person pronoun in the speech of younger people speaking with peers. (The pronounciations *elo* and *lo* also occur but the distinction with *elu* ~ *lu* is not indicated here.) As with *gua* and *gue*, the choice between *elu* and *lu* appears to be entirely random.[36]

The pronoun *elu* is also used frequently for 'one, you (in general)':

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[35] The pronoun usage of the interviewers is not taken into consideration here. However, it can be noted that the interviewers' choice for first and second person also showed considerable variation. For instance, in [17] the interviewer repeatedly addressed the 22-year-old interviewee as *elu*, while in [21] she addressed the 20-year-old interviewee as *kamu*. Of particular interest is the way their use of pronouns or pronoun substitutes appeared to be influenced by the usage of the interviewee. In [27] the interviewer used *aku* a considerable number of times, as did the interviewee, while in [23] neither interviewee nor interviewer used this pronoun at all. In addressing an older woman [19-20] the interviewer used no pronouns, using only *Ibu* 'mother', sometimes with the woman's name, *Ibu Rita*. This practice is usual in formal as well as informal Indonesian for addressing older people.

[36] This pronoun is not recognised by *Tata Bahasa Baku*.

(232) Tapi kan kalo lu tidak menggunakan panci yang tepat,
but *dp* if you not use pan which precise

masakannya jadi nggak enak rasanya.
cooking-*nya* become not tasty taste-*nya*
But you know if you don't use the right saucepan the cooking won't taste good.

(233) Elu tes psikologi kan, nggak bisa mikir kalo elu lagi sakit.
you test psychology *dp* not can think if you present sick
(When) you do the psychology test you know, you can't think if you're sick.

The other common pronoun in the conversation of youth is *kamu*, although it is far less frequent than *elu*. In fact, *kamu* is used in some texts more for reporting what was said rather than directly to the interlocutors. In the following example a student reports what a lecturer said to him:

(234) *And then* dia bilang, 'Percuma kamu mau adu ngomong. Mau
he say futile you want [argue] want

debat kusir sama saya? Kamu nggak bakalan menang', gitu.
[argue point] with me you not will win thus
And then he said, 'You're wasting your time if you want to argue. You want to argue the point with me? You won't win,' like that.

The pronouns *gua* 'I' and *elu* 'you' generally co-occur. The pronouns *aku* 'I' and *kamu* 'you' also frequently co-occur, as markers of solidarity or intimacy, although *kamu* is also common in non-reciprocal relationships, from older to younger. In [02], a conversation among university staff, *kamu* was the common pronoun for 'you'. This and the meetings were the only texts where *saya* and *kamu* regularly co-occurred in the context of a reciprocal relationship between colleagues rather than in a non-reciprocal relationship of higher to lower.

Despite similarities in usage between the pairs *gua*/*elu* and *aku*/*kamu* the latter pair differ in that they are much more likely to be used between people with a particularly close relationship, such as husband and wife, or boyfriend and girlfriend. One woman discussed her relationship with her boyfriend:

(235) Terus dia tu yang bener-bener ngejaga gua. Mesti nganter gua
then he that who really guard me must escort me

ampe rumah, apa gimana gitu. Trus suka ngajarin gua.
to house [and so on] thus further like teach me

Iya, 'Nggak boleh ngomong gua-elu, ya. Mesti kamu-aku.'
yes not may say *gua-elu* *dp* must *kamu-aku*
And he really takes care of me, he always has to take me home, and so forth. He's always teaching me about things. (He says) 'You shouldn't use *gua* and *elu* with me, OK? You should say *kamu* and *aku*.'

The meeting [31] is unique in the use of the formal, impersonal *anda* 'you'. This was used to address other members of the meeting in general (rather than addressing a specific person) or in the sense of 'one in general':

(236) Setiap persoalan pengungsian itu punya latar belakang yang spesifik.
each problem refugee that have [background] which specific

Jadi memang mesti kenal. Kalo tidak, anda setiap kali dalam
so indeed must know if not you each time in

berhubungan dengan keluarga yang pengungsi akan menyinggung
contact with family which refugee will offend

perasaan mereka, gitu, kalo anda enggak tau kenapa mereka
feeling their thus if you not know why they

sampe ngungsi.
to.extent evacuate
Every refugee problem has its own specific background. So we have to know what they are. If not, every time you have contact with refugee families you will offend them, if you don't know what drove them to evacuate.

In [31] *anda* occurred 27 times while in the other meeting it occurred just once.[37]

Suffix *-mu*, the possessive form of *kamu*, very rarely occurred (unlike *-ku* 'my') and when it did it was most frequently in quotes:

(237) 'Anakmu nggak sopan.' Gitu kan dia bilang.
child-your not polite thus *dp* she say
'Your child isn't polite.' That's what she said.

Such use of *-mu* in quotations does not necessarily indicate its actual use; in the above example it quotes a teacher addressing a parent, a most unlikely situation for use of this pronoun. Moreover, the person quoted was actually speaking English. Sometimes the full form *kamu* occurs as possessive:

(238) Buka hadiahnya tu di meja kamu.
open present-*nya* that on table your
[He] opened the present on your table.

The pronoun *engkau* has a literary flavour and is rare in CJI. It occurred just once in the texts where someone is quoted and hence is not a good guide to actual usage.

The suffixed form *-kau* occurred once, when the interviewer asked:

(239) Bisa tolong ceritakan tentang dirikau?
can please relate about self-your
Can you tell about yourself?

2.13.4 Second person plural

As in FI, specific pronouns for second person plural are rare; usually singular pronouns are used. A general intimate plural occurring in FI, *kalian*, is very rare in the corpus. In one text there is an instance of *kamu-kamu*, that is, reduplication of the second person

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[37] A consideration of second person pronouns in interviews is perhaps not very informative. As interviewees talked mostly about themselves they generally used such pronouns infrequently and almost never to the interviewer. For instance, in [15] *elu* occurred just three times, once in a quote and twice meaning 'you (in general)', and *kamu* three times, once in a quote and twice to the interviewer.

pronoun to indicate plurality and in another *elu orang* is used once. In the following *elu* 'you', *elu berdua* 'you two' and *kalian* are all used for 'you plural':

(240) Elu mulai meng-*confirm* balik tentang status elu berdua seperti
you begin confirm again about status [two of you] like
apa. Apakah kalian cuma jalan sekedar teman?
what whether you only travel just friend
You begin to reconfirm what is the status of the two of you. Are you just getting around as friends?

2.13.5 Third person pronouns

These do not differ greatly from those in FI. *Dia* means 'he, she, it'.

(241) Dia pengen kerja cuma karena dia pengen dapet cowok.
she want work only becauses she want get boyfriend
She only wants to work because she wants to get a boyfriend.

While *-nya* occurs for possessives, objects of active verbs and agents of passive verbs (see §2.8.1), *dia* can replace it for emphasis. In the following both are used, the repetition with *dia* being emphatic:

(242) A: Oh, jadi logatnya aneh?
exc so accent-his odd
B: Iya, logatnya, logat dia.
yes accent-his accent his
A: Oh, so his accent is odd?
B: Yes, his accent, *his* accent.

Although always used if emphasis is involved, *dia* can also occur instead of *-nya* where no emphasis is intended:

(243) Tergantung kerjaan dia. Kerjaan dia itu *full time* atau *part time*?
depends work his work his that or
It depends on his work. Is his work full time or part time?

The variant *ia* which can occur in FI in various contexts does not occur in the corpus.

Dia commonly occurs for non-human, and even non-animate referents. In such cases it frequently has a plural referent and so is translatable 'they'. In the following it refers to plants:

(244) Kalo dia tinggi, dia bisa kayak jadi pager, gitu.
if it tall it can like be fence thus
If it is tall it can be like a fence.

(245) Soalnya dia ngeluarin gelombang. Semua benda yang
thing.is they give.out wave all thing which

living, living things, itu kan ngeluarin gelombang.
that *dp* give.out wave
The thing is they send out waves. All living things, they send out waves.

Dia occasionally means 'they' when used for humans:

(246) Gua nonton balet *Swan Lake*. .. dia narinya bagus.
I watch ballet S L their dance-*nya* beautiful
I saw the ballet Swan Lake. .. their dancing was beautiful.

Occasionally *dia orang* occurs, meaning 'they', though not in most people's usage:

(247) Jadi abis dari pesta kawin, dia orang pada ke sini.
so after from party marry [they] all to here
So after the wedding ceremony they all came here.

The usual third plural word for humans is *mereka*, as in FI.

2.14 Possessive constructions

Four ways of indicating possession are recognised.

(i) possessor immediately following possessed

The most common way of forming possessives and genitive constructions in general, in both FI and CJI, is to place the possessor, whether a noun or pronoun, immediately after the noun indicating the thing possessed.

(248) Nama saya Angel.
name my A
My name is Angel.

(249) Itu masa depan anak, bukan masa depan Bapak, bukan
that [future] child not [future] father not

masa depan orangtua.
[future] parent
That is the children's future, not your future (sir), not the future of the parents.

Pronouns *aku* 'I', *kamu* 'you' and *dia* 'he, she, it' have attached possessive forms, *-ku*, *-mu* and *nya* respectively. These are discussed in §2.13.

There are a number of other methods of indicating possession in CJI, all of which are generally regarded as more or less substandard in FI.

(ii) *punya*

The possessor can precede the possessed, separated by *punya*:

(250) Itu juga akan memperbaiki kita punya keadaan, gitu kan?
that also will improve we possess situation thus *dp*
That will also improve our situation, won't it?

(251) Apa sih yang ada dalam program lu punya studio, gitu?
what *dp* which be in program you possess studio thus
What is there in your studio's program?

In almost all instances recorded the possessor is a pronoun. Pronoun + *punya* + noun is not necessarily a possessive construction; in fact, it is much more frequently a subject-predicate construction indicating possession, with *punya* translatable 'have':

(252) Saya nggak suka karna saya punya prinsip.
I not like because I have principle
I don't like that because I have principles.

Out of context a construction may be ambiguous. Thus *saya punya temen namanya Inge* could mean either 'my friend named Inge' or 'I have a friend named Inge'. Only the context shows that the following is not a possessive construction:

(253) Terus taun delapan pulu empat – saya inget sekali –
then year [84] I remember very

saya punya temen namanya Inge.
I have friend name-her I
Then in '84 – I remember it well – I had a friend named Inge.

(iii) *dari*

A ligature *dari* can occur between a noun and possessive noun, although it never occurs before a possessive pronoun. It is not particularly common on CJI:

(254) Tante saya penyanyi sopran, anak kesayangan dari Sukarno.
aunt my singer soprano child favourite of S
My aunt was a soprano, a favourite of Sukarno's.

(255) Keadaan ekonomi dari keluarga itu kurang begitu bagus.
condition economic of family that less thus good
The family's economic situation wasn't all that good.

(iv) *-nya*

Also occurring as a ligature before possessive nouns is *-nya*:

(256) Itu mejanya Pak Bun.
that table-*nya* Mr B
That's Mr Bun's desk.

(257) Ternyata asistennya itu kakaknya temen gua
evident assistent-his that older.brother-*nya* friend my
It turned out his assistant was the older brother of a friend of mine.

In CJI, though not in FI, *-nya* can link a possessive pronoun to the noun:

(258) Gua bingung gitu loh, konsepnya dia orang.
I confused thus *dp* concept-*nya* [their]
I'm confused about their concept.

Use of *-nya* in possessive constructions is common in CJI and is discussed further in §2.8.2.

2.15 Demonstratives

In FI the main demonstratives are *ini* 'this, these' and *itu* 'that, those'. They follow the noun [RG 2.6–9], referring back to someone or something previously mentioned.

In CJI *ini* and *itu* commonly precede the noun, although they can also follow it:

(259) Gua sih kenal sama ini dosen.
I *dp* know to this lecturer
I know this lecturer.

(260) Banyak juga orang yang memfitnah itu orang, itu dosen.
many also people who slander that person that lecturer
There are many people who slander that person, that lecturer.

It is common for them to be contracted, whether occurring before or after the noun, usually pronounced *nih* and *tuh*, although the pronunciations *ni* and *tu* also occur:

(261) Dessy Ratnasari tuh heboh banget.
D R that sensation very
That DR is really sensational.

(262) Kagak ngerti ni orang.
not understand this person
This person doesn't understand.

In CJI *itu ~ tuh* can occur with nominalised verbs:

(263) Masak itu kan tergantung *feeling*.
cook that *dp* depend.on
Cooking depends on (your) feelings.

(264) Gua tau ngerokok tuh nggak bagus.
I know smoke that not good
I know that smoking is not good.

Itu ~ tuh and *ini ~ nih* can occur with pronouns as intensifiers, giving emphasis. In the first example below *itu* occurs with a first person single pronoun. In the second *tuh* occurs with both a first person single pronoun substitute and with a proper noun:

(265) Saya itu kan lahir taun lima pulu tiga, ya?
I that *dp* born year [53] *dp*
I was born in '53, you see.

(266) Bagi Sandy tuh Trisna tuh nggak tua banget, gitu loh.
for S that T that not old very thus *dp*
For me Trisna is not really old, you see.

Such multiple occurrence of demonstratives as in example (266) is not uncommon, as seen also in the following:

(267) Gua tu ngobrol ama dia tuh dari jam sembilan malem
I that chat with him that from hour nine night

ampe jam enam pagi.
until hour six morning
I talked with him from nine at night until six in the morning.

The demonstratives can occur together, one before and one after the noun. Here the co-occurrence gives special emphasis to the noun:

(268) Itu Bisik.com itu suatu *site* tentang semua kegiatan mahasiswa.
that B that one about all activity student
Bisik.com is a site about all student activities.

(269) Itu buku itu ratusan ribu; mahalnya minta ampun.
that book that [hundreds of thousands] expense-its beg forgiveness
That book (costs) hundreds of thousands; it's as expensive as anything.

(270) Saya nggak tau ni alamat ini.
I not know this address this
I don't know this address.

In FI *ini* and *itu* can occur as demonstrative pronouns, replacing nouns [RG 2.65]. In this position in CJI they can themselves be followed by demonstratives, *itu* by *tuh* and *ini* by *nih*. Here the second demonstrative is a particulariser, again giving emphasis:

(271) Tapi gua nggak tau bahwa itu tuh cowok dia.
but I not know that that that boyfriend her
But I didn't know that that was her boyfriend.

(272) Maksudnya seperti ini nih.
purpose-*nya* like this this
This is what I mean. (lit: The purpose is like this.)

Such use of demonstratives to qualify demonstratives can even occur when the qualified demonstrative is not a phrase head:

(273) Oh, gara-gara elu ngurusin urusan ini nih?
exc because you organise matter this this
Oh, was it because you were dealing with this matter?

Although it is not common, *ini* can be followed by *tuh* and *itu* by *nih*. In the following *ini* modifies *anak-anak* 'these kids' because this is what is being discussed; *ini* is itself followed by *tuh*. This can probably be regarded as modifying *anak-anak ini* rather than just *ini*; *ini* gives immediacy – these are the kids being talked about – while *tuh* gives distance – they are not now present but have been mentioned previously:

(274) Anak-anaknya ini tuh diajarin kalo seandeinya emang demo
children-*nya* this that taught that supposing indeed demo
uda mulai bahaya, lari!
already begin dangerous run
These kids are taught that if the situation in a demo has started to get dangerous they should run!

Tuh and *nih* can occur after a verbal or adjectival predicate to give it stress. Since only *tuh* and *nih* have been recorded in this context, never *itu* and *ini* (although these can occur after nominalised verbs, as discussed above), it is possible to regard them here as separate discourse particles (see §3.2), giving emphasis to the predicate. They are glossed *dp* in the following examples:

(275) Gua tuh sebel sekali tuh sama itu film.
I that annoyed very *dp* with that film
I'm very annoyed about that movie.

(276) Waduh, ati-ati loh sama Dado tuh deket-deket. Patut dicurigai tuh.
exc careful *dp* prep D that close-close fitting suspected *dp*
Oh, be careful of getting too close to Dado. He should be held in suspicion.

(277) Belum foto lagi ni gua.
not-yet photo again *dp* I
I still haven't had my photo taken.

When *itu* and *ini* follow a verb they stand as a separate phrase, as demonstrative pronouns [RG 2.65]. The difference between *ini* as a demonstrative pronoun and *nih* as a discourse particle can be seen in the following pair:[38]

(278) Eh, Tina! Lagi makan nih?
exc T still eat *dp*
Hey, Tina. Are you still eating?

(279) Eh, Tina! Lagi makan ini?
exc T still eat this
Hey, Tina. Are you still eating this?

2.16 *yang*

In CJI *yang* has all the functions it has in FI but also occurs in many contexts in which it is unacceptable in FI. While there may be an overarching general meaning of *yang* in all its occurrences in CJI this is not readily apparent from the corpus and consequently the following discussion may appear somewhat discursive. In examples in this section *yang* is glossed 'which' or 'who'.

Yang introduces defining relative clauses [RG 3.97–102]:

(280) Dan materi yang diajarin kan itu-itu aja.
and material which taught *dp* [same old thing]
And the material which is taught is just the same old thing.

(281) Dia numbuhnya rada-rada menekan gigi yang di depan.
it grow-*nya* rather push tooth which in front
It grew out rather pressing the tooth which was in front of it.

It is very common for such relative clauses to be nominalised. That is, the head noun is ellipted (see §3.1.1), usually because it is clear from context [RG 3.131]:

(282) Yang dicabut baru satu.
which extracted so.far one
Only one (tooth) has so far been extracted. (lit: What has been pulled out is so far just one.)

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[38] Example (279) is not from the corpus. It was provided by a native speaker who emphasised the difference in meaning between the two.

(283) Dia cuma nggonggong sama yang cakep.
it only bark at who good.looking
It only barks at those who are good-looking.

Topic-comment clauses can be made relative clauses, corresponding to constructions with 'whose', 'who have' or 'with' in English [RG 3.103–4]:

(284) Orang yang garis tangannya begini nih, orang yang keras.
person who line hand-*nya* like.this this person who hard
People with/who have hand lines like this are hard people.

(285) film yang pemainnya bangsa Inggris
film who actor-*nya* nation English
a movie whose actors are English

In FI *yang* is obligatory before relative clauses, although it does not occur before some similar constructions such as attributive verbs [see RG 2.47]. In CJI *yang* is sometimes omitted before relative clauses. The first two examples below are defining relative clauses and the last is a 'whose' relative clause:

(286) Tapi kebetulan ada satu kelompok temen gua belum selesai.
but happen be one group friend my not.yet finish
But by chance there was one group of my friends (who) hadn't yet finished.

(287) Buat gua kalo cewek ngerokok jadi cewek gua, oke aja.
for me if girl smoke be girl my OK just
For me if a girl (who) smokes was my girl, that's OK.

(288) Gua mo jadi guru, tapi guru bidangnya bidang tari.
I want be teacher but teacher field-*nya* field dance
I want to be a teacher, but a teacher (whose) field is dancing.

In CJI but not FI *yang* can occur before an adverb of manner. This usually occurs in imperative constructions, as in the first two examples below, although it can also occur in a statement, as in the third:[39]

(289) Yang kencengan dikit dong!
which louder little *dp*
(Speak) a little louder!

(290) Ceritakan dulu tentang diri kamu yang banyak; jangan yang sedikit.
tell first about self you which much don't which little
Tell us a lot about yourself; not just a little.

(291) Saya pernah denger Ibu pernah sakit yang parah banget.
I ever hear ma'am ever sick which severe very
I've heard you were once seriously ill.

A common construction in CJI is one in which *yang* corresponds to a locative phrase in English such as 'in which', 'to which' and so on. This construction does not occur in FI, which instead uses a prepositional relative clauses [RG 3.106]. The corresponding locative phrase in English is given in parentheses after each example below:

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[39] This construction is noted by Steinhauer (1992:429).

(292) Itu *supermarket* yang kita pergi kemaren itu.
that which we go yesterday that
That's the supermarket we went to yesterday. (yang = to which)

(293) Video klipnya Cintami yang dia di kolam renang.
video clip-*nya* C which she in [swimming pool]
The Cintami video clip in which she is in the swimming pool. (yang = in which)

(294) Dan kenapa spesialisasi Inggris? Ya karena memang itu
and why specialisation English *dp* because indeed that

salah satu yang saya bagus.
[one of the] which I good
Why did I specialise in English? Well, because that's one thing that I'm good at. (yang = at which)

(295) Saya punya orangtua yang saya juga masih nyumbang sedikit.
I have parent who I also still contribute a.little
I have parents who I also still contribute to a little. (yang = to whom)

Yang can mean 'when' referring to the past:

(296) Yang kamu umpe-umpetin aku punya organizer itu, itu sebelom
which you hide I possess organiser that that before

tablo apa sesudah tablo?
tableau or after tableau
When you hid my organiser, was it before or after the tableau?

(297) Tadi kan yang kita lagi rame-rame kan dia maen lewat.
just.now *dp* which we present in.group *dp* he play pass
A while ago, when we were in a group he just walked past us.

In this function it can also be followed by *waktu* or *pas*, both meaning 'when':

(298) Kamu inget nggak yang waktu Tino makan cabe rawit
you remember not which when T eat [kind of chilli]

sama pisang goreng?
with banana fried
You remember, don't you, when Tino ate very hot chillis with fried bananas?

(299) Cuman lucunya yang pas lagi dia lagi pacaran kan
only funny-*nya* which when present they present dating *dp*

ada film yang Batak-Cina itu loh.
be film which B-C that *dp*
But the funny thing is when they were still going out together there was a movie about (a love story between) a Chinese and a Batak.

The combination *yang waktu itu* is sometimes translatable 'at that time':

(300) Dia tu yang waktu itu lagi bimbang, tau nggak,
she that which time that present confused know not

mau sama Witak, nggak.
want with W not
At that time she was confused, you know, about whether she wanted to go out with Witak, or not.

In some of its 'non-standard' occurrences *yang* is probably best explained as introducing a verbal relative clause but with the verb omitted. In the following three examples the verbs *bekerja* 'worked', *dibuat* 'made' and *pake* 'wearing' respectively (or verbs of similar meaning) can be regarded as having been deleted:

(301) Ayah saya itu juga .. tukang loak .. yang di pinggir jalan itu.
father my that also peddler junk who at side road that
My father was a second-hand dealer, who (worked) at the side of the road.

(302) Sewaktu itu aku pengen manisan yang dari gula itu.
at.time that I want sweets which from sugar that
At that time I wanted sweets which (were made) from sugar.

(303) A: Terus belakang ada dua cewek, kan?
then behind be two girl *dp*

B: Yang baju item, yah?
who jacket black *dp*

A: Then behind there were two girls, right?

B: Who (were wearing) black jackets, eh?

In CJI *yang* frequently precedes a noun in contexts where this is not possible in FI. There appear to be a number of different subgroups of such constructions, although the functions recognised below are only tentative and sometimes other interpretations are possible.

It can act as a ligature before a possessive noun, as can *-nya* (see §2.8.2). However, this function appears not to be common:

(304) Nah itu ma urusan yang Tuhanlah yang di ataslah.
dp that *dp* affair which God-*lah* who at above-*lah*

Bukan urusan gue.
not affair my
Well, that the affair of God above. It isn't my affair.

(305) Perusahaan yang elu sekarang, kimia Yop?
factory which your now chemical Y
Is your present company (the one you work for) a chemical firm, Yop?

Yang can occur within a noun phrase acting like preposition *tentang* '(which is) about, concerning':

(306) lagi pas gua ikut seminar yang narkoba tu ..
[when] I join seminar which narcotics that
when I was attending a seminar about narcotics ..

(307) Cuman lucunya yang pas lagi dia lagi pacaran kan ada
only funny-*nya* which [when] they present dating *dp* be

filem yang Batak-Cina itu loh.
film which Batak-Chinese that *dp*
But the funny thing is when they were still going out together there was a movie about (a love story between) a Batak and a Chinese.

An alternative interpretation is that *yang* is functioning to introduce a prepositional relative clause with the preposition *tentang* 'about' omitted. However, in this function *yang* need not occur within a noun phrase; it can directly follow a verb, as in the following example. In this case it is difficult to regard it as introducing a relative clause:

(308) Yuli mau tanya yang masalah Trisna sama Sandy.
Y want ask which matter T and S
I want to ask about the matter of Trisna and Sandy.

It sometimes precedes nouns in contexts which resemble noun relative clauses [RG 3.101] which, however, could only with difficulty be regarded as deriving from noun clauses [RG 3.5]:

(309) Mami punya temen yang keluarga pendeta ..
mum have friend who family clergyman
Mum had a friend who was (a member of) a clergyman's family.

(310) Kebijakan dari sana kalo ada felem-felem yang layar emas
policy of there if be films which screen gold

itu, itu harus orang dalem yang kerjain.
that that must people inside who work
The policy there is if there are gold screen (block buster) movies, they have to be worked (translated) by in-house people.

It can precede a noun where it is unnecessary, apparently adding nothing to the sense of the construction. In FI it does not occur in such contexts:

(311) A: Gua pesen dong mawar ungu.
I order *dp* rose purple

B: Mau yang mawar lokal atau mawar luar?
want which rose local or rose outside

A: I'm ordering purple roses.

B: Do you want local or imported roses?

(312) Kalo gua bisa skolah lagi gua tuh pengen ngambil yang Hukum.
if I can school more I that want take which law
If I could do another degree I'd want to take Law.

(313) Itu yang bis gas itu jurusannya apa sih sebenernya?
that which bus gas that direction-its what *dp* actually
What direction is that gas (fueled) bus taking actually?

2.17 Topic-comment constructions

One way to focus attention on something is to use a topic-comment construction. In this construction a word or phrase is taken from the basic clause and placed before it for emphasis, becoming the topic. The rest of the clause is then a comment on the topic. This construction is very common in CJI, as it is in FI [RG 3.87–90]. The construction is based on a basic clause whose subject noun phrase contains a possessor. The possessor is placed before the clause, becoming the topic. Its place in the subject is marked by *-nya*. Thus, in the first example below the first topic-comment clause is *Mami saya asalnya dari Bandung*, literally: '(As for) my mother, her origin is from Bandung'. This derives from *Asal mami saya dari Bandung* 'My mother's origin is from Bandung'. The possessor in the subject, *mami* 'mother', is placed before the whole clause as the topic, its original place being marked by *-nya*. The remainder of the clause, *asalnya dari Bandung* 'her origin is from Bandung' is then the comment:

(314) Mami saya asalnya dari Bandung, papi saya asalnya dari
mum my origin-*nya* from B dad my origin-*nya* from
Bangka, Sumatra.
B S
As for my mother, she comes from Bandung; my father comes from Bangka, Sumatra.

(315) Gianyar tepinya hampir deket Denpasar.
G edge- *nya* almost near D
The edge of Gianyar is very close to Denpasar.
(lit: Gianyar, its edge is very near Denpasar.)

(316) *Selamat Malam* itu syutingnya di Ancol.
S M that shooting-*nya* at A
The shooting (of the video clip) *Selamat Malam* was at Ancol.
(lit: *Selamat Malam*, its shooting was at Ancol.)

The topic is frequently a pronoun, as in the first two examples below, or a pronoun substitute, as in the final example:

(317) Saya sekarang umurnya dua puluh enam.
I now age-*nya* [26]
(As for me) I'm now aged 26.

(318) Mereka tangannya kuat.
they hand-*nya* strong
(As for them) their hands are strong.

(319) Sandy tu hobinya ketawa.
S that hobby-*nya* laugh
My hobby is laughing.

As in basic clauses, changes of word order are possible in CJI (as in FI). The predicate can be foregrounded by placing it before the subject. In the first example below the predicate *jadi nggak enak* 'becomes unpleasant' is placed before the subject *rasanya* 'its

taste' and in the second example the predicate *gingsul* 'uneven' is placed before the subject *taringnya* '(my) canine teeth':

(320) Kalo elu tidak menggunakan panci yang tepat, masakannya
if you not use pan which correct cooking-*nya*

jadi nggak enak rasanya.
become not nice taste-its
If you don't use the right saucepan the cooking won't be tasty.
(lit: .. (as for) the cooking, it will not be delicious its taste.)

(321) Gua dulu kan gingsul semua taringnya.
I previously *dp* uneven all canine-*nya*
(As for) me, previously all my canine teeth were uneven.

In the following example the whole comment in the second sentence is placed first for highlighting. The topic *sodaranya* 'his cousin' had been mentioned in the previous sentence and so is not new information:

(322) Pake kemeja, sama sodaranya. Namanya Rudi juga sodaranya.
wear shirt same cousin-his name-his R also cousin-his
He was wearing a (special) shirt and was with his cousin. His cousin's name's Rudi too.

In CJI the topic can be marked by *kalo* 'as for, concerning' (see §2.20 for examples).

A special kind of topic-comment construction which occurs frequently in CJI has *orang* as the subject, when talking about someone's physical characteristics or personality. However, this cannot occur as a basic clause; thus **orang Ani* 'Ani's person' cannot occur, although the first example below theoretically derives from this:

(323) Ani orangnya keras, kan?
A person-*nya* hard *dp*
Ani is a hard person, isn't she? (lit: (As for) Ani, her person is hard.)

(324) Gua orangnya emang enggak pernah mo cerita.
I person-*nya* indeed not ever want tell.story
I'm someone who never likes to tell stories.

In the following example the predicate occurs first for highlighting:

(325) Tinggi dia orangnya.
tall he person-*nya*
He's a tall person.

2.18 The copula *adalah*

The copulas *adalah* and *ialah* optionally occur in FI to link a subject and nominal predicate, and sometimes an adjectival predicate [see RG 3.14], with *adalah* being considerably more common than *ialah*.

Adalah also occurs in CJI, although it is rare; in about half the texts it did not occur. In most of the others it occurred with very limited frequency. It was only in the meetings and in the two most formal interviews [16] and [17] that it occurred frequently. In the following example it occurs in association with other formal elements:

(326) Itu adalah cara yang paling halus untuk menjatuhkan Gus Dur.
that *copula* way which most fine to bring.down GD
That is the most refined way to bring down (President) Gus Dur.

Very occasionally it occurs in more informal language:

(327) Yang pasti bakal ngebikin gua terpesona banget adalah cewek
which certain will make me enchanted very *copula* girl

dengan rambut panjang yang tergerai, terus anggun.
with hair long which flowing then elegant
What would certainly very much enchant me is an elegant girl with long flowing hair.

Usually no copula occurs before a noun predicate. *Adalah* could occur before *berkata* '(is) to speak' in the following quite formal statement:

(328) .. hal yang paling terberat dilakukan oleh seorang teman
matter which most heavy carried.out by a.person friend

pencandu narkoba itu berkata jujur ..
addict narcotic that say honest
The most difficult thing that a friend of the drug addict can do is to speak honestly ..

One instance of *adalah* before an adjective predicate has been noted. Again, this is in a more formal passage and in a context which would possibly need restructuring if the copula did not occur:

(329) Di kalangan sebagian orang Islam itu, kalo presiden wanita
in circle a.part person Islam that if president woman

itu adalah haram.
that *copula* forbidden
In some Islamic circles for the president to be a woman is forbidden.

No instances of *ialah* occurred in any of the recordings for this study, including the semi-formal meetings. It can be said that *adalah* is marked for formality while *ialah*, being entirely absent from CJI, is very highly marked for formality.

2.19 Complementisers *kalo* and *bahwa*

Verbs which report something that happened or report what someone said are frequently followed by a complement clause. This complement clause can be introduced by *bahwa* or *kalo*, or have no introductory complementiser. The complementiser corresponds to 'that' in English.

In FI the complementiser is *bahwa* [RG 3.108–112]. It introduces a full clause, which behaves like a noun phrase and can occur in a number of positions where nouns usually occur, in addition to following verbs. *Bahwa* can usually be omitted, as can corresponding 'that' in English.

In CJI *bahwa* rarely occurs, particularly in conversations; in six conversations it did not occur at all. It is strongly associated with formality, occurring a large number of times

only in the more formal interviews. *Kalo*, which also means 'if', is far more common. It sometimes occurs as *kalau*, which also occurs in FI, although not with this function. It has several other functions and is further discussed in §2.20.

When *bahwa* occurs it is likely to be in association with other H elements:

(330) Jadilah perempuan yang menarik, dalam artian tunjukkan
be-*lah* woman who attractive in meaning indicate

bahwa elu punya otak.
that you have brain
Be an attractive woman, in the sense of showing that you have a brain.

However, it can also occur in association with L elements:

(331) Tapi gua nggak tau bahwa itu tuh cowok dia.
but I not know that that that boyfriend her
But I didn't know that that was her boyfriend.

In the following examples *kalo* occurs:

(332) Gua kayaknya mikir kalo abis ini gue nggak sekola.
I like think that after this I not school
I've been thinking that after this I won't continue studying.

(333) Dia kasih tau nyokapnya kalo cowoknya nih mau dateng.
she [tell] mother-her that boyfriend-her this want come
she told her mother that this boyfriend of hers was going to come.

It is also very common in CJI for there to be no complementiser with these clauses:

(334) Dia bilang gua enggak mau ngaku kesalahan.
he say I not want acknowledge error
He said (that) I'm not prepared to acknowledge my error.

(335) Gua berfikir dia tu orang bego banget.
I think she that person stupid very
I reckon (that) she's a really dumb person.

2.20 Other functions of *kalo*

Kalo is frequently a conjunction which introduces a subordinate clause of condition, meaning 'if, when' [RG 4.69, 4.72]. In FI it is *kalau* and this pronunciation also occurs in CJI, although *kalo* is much more common. In the following examples *kalo* is glossed 'if':

(336) Gua mau ikut demo kalo tujuannya jelas.
I want join demo if aim-its clear
I'll join the demo if its aims are clear.

(337) Gue kalo disuruh ngajar, gua mau ngajar anak SMA.
I if ordered teach I want teach child *SMA*
If I was told to teach I'd want to teach high school students.

Out of context in CJI *kalo* is ambiguous as to meaning 'that' (see §2.19) and 'if'. The following is open to both interpretations:

(338) Sayang banget kalo gua putus sama dia.
unfortunate very that/if I break with her
i It would be unfortunate if I broke up with her.
ii It is unfortunate that I've broken up with her.

As a subordinator of condition *kalo* can be omitted in CJI, the subordinate clause then simply being juxtaposed to the main clause of the sentence:

(339) Elu tes psikologi kan, nggak bisa mikir kalo elu lagi sakit.
you test psychology *dp* not can think if you present sick
(When) you do the psychology test you know, you can't think if you're sick.

(340) Elu mau nunjukin keindahan badan lu, oke-oke aja.
you want show beauty body your OK just
(If) you want to display the beauty of your body, that's fine.

Kalo also frequently indicates a shift of attention from one topic to another, translatable 'what about'. Thus in a discussion about plants appropriate for decorating the house:

(341) A: Kalo anggrek?
if orchid

B: Anggrek bagus.
orchid good

A: What about orchids?

B: Orchids are good.

It often has the sense of 'as for x (this is what happens)'. It is thus a kind of topicaliser, making the following item the new topic of attention or focus. As such it can occur before a component of a basic clause; in such cases it is optional apart from giving extra emphasis to the particular component:

(342) Kalo dulu, pas jaman Sukarno, komandan setempat tu
if previous when time S commander local that

sangat berkuasa.
very powerful
Previously, in Sukarno's time, local commanders were very powerful.

(343) Kalo elu sukanya cewek yang kayak gimana?
if you like-*nya* girl who like how
What sort of girl do *you* like? (lit: As for you, what ..)

(344) Kalo yang pinter, pinter banget.
if who clever clever very
The clever ones are really clever. (As for the clever ones, they're really clever.)

Kalo can occur in CJI to mark the topic of a topic-comment clause (see §2.17). In the second example below the subject of the main clause is placed last:

(345) Kalo gue kriterianya tuh cuma bahwa ..
if I criterion-*nya* that only that
As for me, my criterion is just that ..

(346) Kalo Obe tu masih samalah ama elulah levelnya.
if O that still same-*lah* as you-*lah* level-her
As for Obe, her level is still the same as yours.

Kalo can precede a sentence adjunct which reports what someone thinks or has said [RG 4.108]. Here also it can be omitted without change of meaning:

(347) Kalo menurut gue, dari awal dia nggak tulus.
if according.to me from start he not honest
In my opinion he's been dishonest from the beginning.

(348) Kalo yang gua pikir gini: kalo gua ngambil Hukum ..
if what I think like.this if I take law
What I think is this: if I take Law ..

2.21 Words for 'just': *aja*, *doang* and *saja*

In addition to *aja* as an informal alternative to FI *saja* (see §2.2.1), a Jakarta Malay word *doang* sometimes occurs in CJI with the same meaning. While this does not occur often it is nevertheless much more frequent than *saja* in the usage of younger speakers:

(349) Nyuci mobil pake celana dalem doang.
wash car wear [underpants] just
[He] was washing the car just wearing his underpants.

In the following one speaker uses *doang* while the other uses *aja*:

(350) A: .. politik nasional atau politik di kampus doang?
politics national or politics on campus just

B: Ya, di kampus aja.
exc on campus just

A: .. national politics or just campus politics?

B: Oh, just on campus.

Doang is very strongly marked for informality. Unlike *aja*, which is frequent in meetings, *doang* is entirely associated with more informal contexts.

Frequency of the forms, using the same set of texts as in §2.2.1, is shown in the following table: Percentages of L variants are very slightly higher than in §2.2.1 because of the inclusion of *doang*. The details are given in Appendix B Table 9.

Table 9: Frequency of words meaning 'just'

	aja	*doang*	*saja*	total	% L
conversations	505	56	6	567	98.9
interviews	332	31	26	389	93.3
meetings	45	0	37	82	54.9

2.22 Words for 'only, just': *cuma*, *cuman* and *hanya*

Hanya is the H word for 'only, just'. While it does occur in the corpus it is of low frequency and is entirely absent from a number of conversations and interviews. *Cuma* is much more frequent in the corpus than *hanya* and while it does occur in FI it is infrequent there. It is therefore quite strongly marked for informality. *Cuman* does not occur in FI and is thus a distinctly L variant. It occurs more frequently than *cuma* in all categories except conversations among younger people, while being rather unexpectedly frequent in the meetings. The following examples show *cuman* preceding a verb and a noun:

(351) Gua cuman kenal segelintir orang anak sembilan lapan
I only know small.number person child [98]

yang respek sama senior.
who respect to senior
I only know a very small number in the class of '98 who have respect for their seniors.

(352) Gua cuman *reporter*, tapi paling nggak gua ngertilah soal *internet.*
I only but most not I understand matter
I'm just a reporter but at least I understand the internet.

The following table shows the percentages for each variable in five social categories. The details are given in Appendix B Table 10:

Table 10: Frequency of words meaning 'only, just'

	cuma	*cuman*	*hanya*	total	% L
younger conversations	123	88	9	220	95.9
younger interviews	92	160	34	286	88.1
older conversations	7	12	9	28	67.9
older interviews	42	52	20	114	82.5
meetings	9	13	30	52	42.3

2.23 Words for 'very' *banget, amat, sekali* and *sangat*

The common word for 'very' in FI is *sekali*, which follows the word it refers to: *besar sekali* 'very big', *berbeda sekali* 'very different'. The words *sangat* and, less frequently, *amat* also occur in FI, preceding the word they qualify: *sangat/amat mahal* 'very expensive'; they can occur together for emphasis, *amat sangat besar* 'exceedingly large'.

The word *banget*, meaning and acting the same as *sekali*, does not occur in FI but is by far the most common word with this meaning in CJI conversations:

(353) Gua berfikir dia tu orang bego banget.
I think she that person stupid very
I think she's a very stupid person.

(354) Gua pengen banget lo kerja di kedutaan.
I want very *dp* work in embassy
I really want to work in an embassy.

While it usually occurs with verbs and adjectives, it can also follow nouns:

(355) Dessy Ratnasari banget sih!
D R very *dp*
Oh, very D R (very much like D R)!

Banget and *sekali* may appear in the same context:

(356) Itu gampang sekali dijawab, yah. Itu gampang banget.
that easy very answered *dp* that easy very
Oh, that's very easily answered. That's very easy.

Also occurring only in CJI is *amat* following the head word:

(357) Aduh, celana lu bagus amat.
exc pants your beautiful very
Oh, your trousers are really beautiful.

Both *sekali* and *sangat* occur in the texts, although *amat* does not occur at all in its formal usage preceding the head word, except in several examples of *amat sangat*. In the table below the few instances of this are not included. *Amat* always occurs in the texts following the word it modifies (as in (357) above) and is thus marked informal.

With this variable there is a very noticable difference in usage between people of different ages. Young people in conversations used *banget* very frequently and rarely used other variants. For most this was also the case in interviews, although two interviewees used *sangat* much more than *banget*. Two others used *sekali* quite frequently. In the speech of older people *sekali* and *sangat* occurred more frequently than *banget*, although in some of the recordings of older people none of the variants was frequent. Given the low numbers in older conversations the figures for that category are not very meaningful. Percentages for L variants are very low in the meetings, showing that these variants are strongly marked for informal social contexts. Details of percentages are given in Appendix B Table 11.

Table 11: Frequency of words meaning 'very'

	banget	*amat*	*sekali*	*sangat*	total	% L variants
younger conversations	344	18	15	3	380	95.3
younger interviews	272	7	56	50	365	76.4
older conversations	3	1	2	0	6	66.7
older interviews	40	2	45	14	101	41.6
meetings	4	0	18	21	43	9.3

2.24 Indicators of plurality: *para* and *pada*

The word *para* is becoming increasingly common in standard FI as a plural marker for humans. *Para* is an inclusive plural, referring to everyone in the group identified. It immediately precedes the noun [RG 2.116]:

(358) Jenaza para korban dibawa ke rumah sakit.
body plural victim taken to [hospital]
The bodies of the victims were taken to the hospital.[40]

As one example showing its increasing use, in Catholic liturgy *murid-murid* 'disciples' in an earlier version became *para murid* in the 1978 version, *para* replacing reduplication to indicate plurality.[41] Previously it could not co-occur with words meaning 'some, several' and the like or with numbers. Recently it has extended to these contexts also, as in *banyak para aktivis* 'many activists'.

Despite increasing occurrence in FI it is very rare in CJI. It occurred five times in the corpus, twice being in one of the meetings. The following was used by the interviewer in one recording:

(359) Lu melihat para birokrat kampus ini gimana sih?
you see plural bureaucrat campus this how *dp*
How do you view the campus bureaucrats?

The word *pada* also acts as a plural marker for humans. It does not precede the noun but rather comes before the following predicate. It is thus restricted to indicating an action performed by everyone in a particular group and is usually translatable '(they) all', where 'they' identifies the noun, which is usually reduplicated. It is highly informal and is not recognised in *Tata Bahasa Baru*. It occurs in *Kamus Besar*, being identified as conversational:

(360) Kebanyakan anak-anak yang demo pada pake jaket
majority children who demonstrate all wear jacket

almamater masing-masing universitas.
almamater respective university
The majority of students demonstrating wore the jackets of their respective universities.

(361) Orang-orang pada bilang, 'Ya, kasian. Ya, kasian.'
people all say *dp* pity *dp* pity
Everyone said, 'Oh, poor thing, poor thing.'

It can occur with pronouns:

(362) Gua pikir, 'Lu pada nggak kerja apa?'
I think you all not work what
I thought, 'Don't you lot have anything to do?'

(363) Kayaknya kita pada daftarnya telat deh.
I.think we all enrol-*nya* too.late *dp*
I think the lot of us have enrolled too late.

The word is not necessarily directly preceded by a noun or pronoun. If not it is translatable 'everyone' or, with a negative, 'no one; none of them'. In the following it refers back to *anak-anak* 'the kids (students)', occurring in the preceding sentence:

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40 This example is taken from RG 2.116.
41 Verhaar (1989:260).

(364) Gua masih nggak kasih tau gua mo dateng ke anak-anak.
I still not [tell] I want come to children

Jadi emang sengaja biar pada nggak tau gua mo dateng,
so indeed deliberate so all not know I want come

gitu lo.
thus *dp*
I still hadn't told the kids that I would come. That was deliberate so that no one would know I was coming, you see.

It can co-occur with other words indicating plurality, such as *semua* 'all':

(365) Nah terus udah gitu, begitu masuk itu kan pada duduk semua.
dp then after that thus enter that *dp* all sit all
So after that, as soon as they came in they all sat down.

In the above examples *pada* precedes verbs but it can occur with other predicates, such as locatives, as in the following:

(366) Jadi abis dari pesta kawin, dia orang pada ke sini.
so after of party wedding [they] all to here
So after the wedding party they all (came) here.

Pada precedes negatives, as in (6) above, the combination meaning 'none, no one':

(367) Nggak ada yang naik kelas waktu balik sini. Pada nggak
not be who go.up class when return here all not

bisa naik kelas.
can go.up class
None of them went up to a higher class when they returned here.
None of them could go up.

It can precede or follow other pre-verbal components of the predicate, such as temporal markers (see §2.11). In the first example below it follows *udah*, which here indicates a state already in effect, but precedes *masih* 'still':[42]

(368) Anak-anak udah pada takut. (*pada udah* also possible)
children already all scared
The kids were all scared.

(369) Trus yang laen, yang laen – sialan – pada masih ketawain
then which other which other damn.it all still laugh

dulu. (*masih pada* also possible)
first
But the others –damn them – were all still laughing (at me).

2.25 Words for 'or' and 'or not': *apa* and *atau*

In FI *atau* means 'or'. In CJI *apa* can occur with the same meaning:

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[42] While the word order *pada udah* can occur, apparently *udah pada* is more frequent and is the only one to occur in the corpus. Such preference for a particular word order may also occur with other temporals.

(370) Itu sebelum tablo apa sesudah tablo?
that before tableau or after tableau
Was that before the tableau or after it?

(371) Di rumah apa di mana, gua lupa ceritanya.
in house or at where I forget story-*nya*
It was in the house or some other place, I forget the story.

Atau also occurs; in the following they are both used:

(372) Kalo memang ada uang kecil, kasih aja gitu. Lima ratus,
if indeed be money small give just thus [500]

apa seribu, atau dua ribu, gitu loh.
or [1000] or [2000] thus *dp*
If you have small change, just give it to him. Five hundred or a thousand or two thousand, whatever.

In FI a question inviting the answer 'yes' or 'no' can be followed by *atau* plus *tidak* or a different negative if appropriate, meaning 'or not'. In CJI *apa* plus the appropriate negative frequently occurs instead to indicate the alternative possibility:

(373) Kalo lu masuk psikologi lu juga dapet nilainya sebagus itu,
if you enter psychology you also get marks-*nya* as.good that

apa enggak?
or not
If you did psychology would you get marks as good as that, or not?

(374) Anton sudah *check in*, apa belum?
A already or not.yet
Has Anton checked in yet, or not?

(375) Apakah elu tuh madesu[43] apa bukan?
question you that or not
Are you a *madesu*, or not?

Apa ~ atau is frequently omitted from this phrase:

(376) Oh La La itu mahal, nggak sih?
O L L that expensive not *dp*
Is Oh La La (a cafe) expensive, or not?

(377) Udah numbuh semua, belum?
already emerge all not.yet
Have they all come up yet, or not?

The alternative possibility can come within the original question rather than following it:

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[43] *madesu* from *masa depan suram* 'a gloomy future', referring to someone who is pessimistic about the future.

(378) Elo sekarang masih ada *feeling* nggak ama dia?
you now still have not to him
Do you now still have feelings, or not, for him?

2.26 Words for 'later': *entar* and *nanti*

These are adjuncts of time [RG 2.191], meaning 'later', usually with the implication that it will be soon. In English future action is usually indicated by other means so that there is rarely a specific translation of *entar* ~ *nanti*. In the following examples *entar* ~ *nanti* is glossed 'soon':

(379) Gua nanti kayaknya wisudaan mo foto juga deh.
I soon I.think graduate want photo also *dp*
I think I want to have my photo taken when I graduate.

(380) Nanti dia ketularan lagi.
soon he infected again
He's going to get infected again.

(381) Gua bingung, entar gua kerja jadi apa?
I confused soon I work be what
I'm confused about what job I'll have.

(382) Entar kita lanjut lagi, ya?
soon we continue more *dp*
We'll continue this later, eh?

In FI only *nanti* occurs, while in CJI they both occur, although of varying frequency from speaker to speaker. *Entar* (often pronounced *ntar*) is more common in the speech of younger people, as indicated in the table below. It is rare in the speech of older people, in both conversations and interviews, and does not occur in the meetings. *Nanti* is so common in CJI that it cannot be regarded as an H variant. Rather it is a common variant in both CJI and FI. *Entar*, however, is strictly an L variant, being entirely absent from semi-formal (as well as formal) speech.

Entar, like *nanti*, often contains a suggestion of imminent action, where English does not indicate immediacy except by use of 'going to':

(383) Entar gue dibunuh ama Dinda lagi.
soon I killed by D again
Dinda's going to kill me again!

(384) Banyak orang nanti salah sangka ya.
many people soon wrong think *dp*
Lots of people are going to think the wrong thing.

They can refer to something which might happen and have negative consequences:

(385) Kawin muda susah. Entar kalo ada apa-apa repot.
marry young difficult soon if be something difficult
Marrying young is a problem. If something happens there'll be difficulties.

(386) Kerasan dikit dong! Takutnya entar enggak masuk suaranya.
louder little *dp* fear-*nya* soon not enter voice-*nya*
Speak a bit louder. I'm worried your voice won't be picked up.

Entar and *nanti* can indicate a following time period, such as *entar/nanti malam* 'tonight':

(387) Entar malem deh gua telpon.
soon night *dp* I telephone
I'll phone you tonight.

Numbers of occurrences are as follows. Details for individual recordings (see Appendix B Table 12) show significant variation in usage between different speakers.

Table 12: Frequency of words meaning 'soon, later'

	entar	*nanti*	total	*% entar*
younger conversations	136	82	218	62.4
younger interviews	42	86	128	32.8
older conversations	7	23	30	23.3
older interviews	5	35	40	12.5
meetings	0	22	22	0

While *entar* probably derives from *sebentar* 'a moment' it is not used in the same way. It is, however, very similar in meaning to *sebentar lagi* 'shortly, soon', which in CJI is usually *bentar lagi*:

(388) Elu ulang taonnya bentar lagi, yah?
you [birthday-*nya*] [shortly] *dp*
It's not long till your birthday, is it?

2.27 Words for 'so that': *biar* and *supaya*

Biar has a number of related meanings in both forms of Indonesian. It can mean 'let, allow':

(389) Kalo tangan kanan jalan biar aja tangan kiri di belakang.
if hand right move let just hand left at back
If your right hand moves just let your left hand stay behind your back.

(390) Itu enggak mau ikut campur. Itu biar mereka yang ngurusin sendiri.
that not want [get involved] that let them who arrange self
[I] don't want to get involved in that. Let them take care of it themselves.

It can mean 'although, even though':

(391) Aku, biar anak tengah, apa aku minta enggak pernah
I although child middle what I request not ever
dikasih tuh.
given that
Although I'm the middle child, whatever I ask for is never given.

(392) Tujuh puluh persen cowok-cowok, biar gayanya se-*cool-cool*
[70] percent males although style-their as.cool

apa, sepreman-preman apa, justru paling sering nangis kalo
what as.tough what precisely most often cry if

nonton film.
watch movie
Seventy percent of males, although they act as cool as anything, as tough as anything, are precisely the ones who most often cry when they go to the movies.

It can also mean 'so that, in order that'. In FI *biar* does not occur with this meaning; *supaya* is the most frequent word in this meaning while *agar* is also common in formal writing. However, in CJI *biar* is the common word:

(393) Gue harus meniti karir biar gue sukses.
I must pursue career so.that I succeed
I have to pursue my career so that I'm successful.

(394) Ini gua tutup mata yah, biar gua bisa *imagine*.
this I close eye *dp* so.that I can
I'll close my eyes, alright, so that I can imagine it.

(395) A: Tiba-tiba kenapa suara elu jadi ngebas gitu, Fer?
suddenly why voice your become bass like.that F

B: Biar seksi.
so.that sexy

A: Why has your voice suddenly gone bass like that, Fer?

B: So that it's sexy.

In CJI *supaya* rarely occurs and *agar* is absent from the corpus. As with other variables there are individual differences, with a few people using *supaya* more than *biar* in interviews.

2.28 Words for 'how?': *gimana* and *bagaimana*

In FI *bagaimana* means 'how, in what way; what (is it) like?' This also occurs in CJI but is frequently contracted to *gimana*:

(396) Menurut elu cewe-cewek Indonesia itu gimana?
according.to you girls I that how
In your opinion what are Indonesian girls like?

(397) Gua tu tau dia ke mana, tapi gua mo bilang gimana?
I that know she to where but I want say how
I knew where she had gone but how could I tell anyone?

(398) Gimana sih caranya orang bisa ngebagi waktu antara kerja
how *dp* way-*nya* person can divide time between work

sama keluarga?
and family
What's the way for someone to divide their time between work and family?

Bagaimana is also used; in the following the two co-occur:

(399) Kelakuan dari mahasiswa bagaimana? Terus kehidupan sosial gimana?
behaviour of student how then life social how
What is the students' behaviour like? And how is their social life?

The combination *kayak gimana* often occurs, meaning 'like what? what (is it) like? (see §2.35). *Gimana* is also frequently used rhetorically in a number of ways. It can be used instead of listing a number of items, meaning 'and the like; or whatever', as in the first example below. It can also be used as a stalling device, as the speaker collects their thoughts, often in combination with *ya*, as in the second example (see also example (100) in §3.2.13). In the third example the speaker expresses his confusion about what to do in the situation:

(400) Itu memang harus juga kita lakukan gitu pada saat kita
that indeed must also we do thus at moment we

bertanding atau gimana.
compete or how
That's what we have to do also when we're competing or whatever.

(401) Saya bisa lebih cepet ngerti bahwa saya bisa,
I can more quick understand that I can

eh .. gimana ya? Katakanlah saya lebih sadar ..
how *dp* say-*lah* I more aware
I can understand more quickly that I can, eh .. what do I mean to say?
Just say I am more aware ..

(402) Aduh, *handphone* gua bunyi nih, gimana nih?
exc mobile.phone my sound this how this
Oh no, my mobile's ringing, what should I do?

Statistically there was very little difference between the younger and older groups, in both conversations and interviews, in their use of *gimana* and *bagaimana*. In fact, the older group used the L variant slightly more than the younger group in both conversations and interviews. *Gimana* does not occur in FI and the figures show it to be strongly favoured in informal contexts. In even the most formal younger interviews [16] and [17] *gimana* was used more. In the semi-formal meetings both variants occurred with almost equal frequency. Details are given in Appendix B Table 13:

Table 13: Frequency of words meaning 'how, in what way'

	gimana	*bagaimana*	total	*% gimana*
conversations	149	8	157	94.9
interviews	215	34	249	86.3
meetings	11	10	21	52.4

2.29 Words for 'why?': *kenapa* and *mengapa*

These words basically mean 'why?' but can also be used in contexts meaning 'what's the matter with? what's the problem?' *Kenapa* is the L variant and *mengapa* the H variant. While *kenapa* may occur in FI it is rare. On the other hand *mengapa* is almost entirely absent from all but strictly formal contexts. It occurred just three times in the corpus. It occurred once in an interview [16], as against 129 occurrences of *kenapa* in 13 interviews checked. It occurred once in each of the meetings, as against 23 occurrences of *kenapa*; the highest percentage (92%) of occurrences of any L variant checked in this semi-formal context:

(403) Aduh, kenapa sih semua menanyakan hal itu?
exc why *dp* all ask.about matter that
Oh, why does everyone ask about that matter?

(404) Nah sekarang gua nanya, kenapa lu putus sama Yopi?
dp now I ask why you break with Y
Now I ask, why did you break up with Yopi?

(405) Kenapa gigi lu?
why teeth your
What's the matter with your teeth?

The reduplicated form *kenapa-kenapa* has a meaning something like 'something will happen'. It can occur with partial reduplication as *kenapa-napa*:

(406) Kalo orang naek kuda juga katanya bisa kenapa-kenapa.
if person ride horse also they.say can something.happen
If you get on a horse they say something could happen to you (such as an accident).

(407) Saya takut dia kenapa-napa.
I afraid he something.happen
I'm worried something's happened to him.

Negated it means that everything is fine:

(408) Saya enggak kenapa-napa.
I not something.happen
Nothing's wrong with me.

2.30 Words for 'when': *pas*, *waktu* and *ketika*

In the meaning 'when (of past events)' *waktu* is neutral as to formality, being frequent in both CJI and FI. *Ketika* is an H word, rarely occurring in CJI. *Pas* is an L word, being confined to informal language.[44]

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[44] There are homophones with other meanings, in both CJI and FI, of both *pas* and *waktu*. Thus *pas* also means 'precise(ly); exact; to fit; enough' in both CJI and FI. In the meaning 'when' it is not listed in *Tata Bahasa Baru* or *Kamus Besar*. Nor is it mentioned in Chaer's Jakarta Malay dictionary. Relative frequencies of the variants are not included; the variety of meanings of *pas* and *waktu* would make the task too time-consuming.

(409) Kalo dulu, pas jaman Sukarno, komandan setempat tu
if previous when time S commander local that

sangat berkuasa.
very powerful
Previously, in Sukarno's time, local commanders were very powerful.

(410) Mitsynya di Australi. Pas balik ke sini, nggak lama putus.
M-*nya* in A when return to here not long break
M was in Australia. When she returned here they broke up not long after.

(411) Paling enak? Pengalaman ngajar? Pas dapet gajian!
most pleasant experience teach when get salary
What was the most fun in my teaching experience? When I got paid!

Pas is often followed by *lagi* 'action in progress' (see §2.11.1) to specify that the event occurred when something else was in progress:

(412) Pas lagi cerita trus gua tiba-tiba ketawa.
when still tell.story then I suddenly laugh
While I was telling the story I suddenly laughed.

(413) Pas lagi kita ngobrol kan dia lewat diem aja.
when still we talk *dp* he pass quiet just
While we were talking he walked past, very quietly.

Although not as frequent the order *lagi pas* also occurs:

(414) Gua udah pernah cobain *chicken cordon blue* [sic] yang di
I already ever try which in

Cafe Wien. Lagi pas aku ulang taun, yah?
C W still when I [birthday] *dp*
I once tried chicken cordon bleu at Cafe Wien. It was when I was having my birthday.

The combination *pas udah* means 'after':

(415) Elo pas uda masuk *married* kan ternyata baru sadar ngeliat
you [after] enter *dp* clear only.then aware see

ada cewek laen, ada cowok laen, gitu loh.
be female other be male other thus *dp*
Only after you're already married do you realise that there are other women, other men.

Pas and *udah* can be separated by another word, as in (416). This is also the case with *pas* and *lagi*, as in (417):

(416) Pada akhirnya pas elo uda menikah, lo salah gitu.
at finally when you already married you mistaken thus
Finally, after you're married, (you'll think that) you've made a mistake.

Pas cannot replace *waktu itu* 'at that time':

(417) Waktu itu gua pernah ketemu ama dia juga pas dia lagi
time that I ever meet with him also when he present
research ke lapangan gitu.
to field thus
At that time I met with him while he was doing field research, you see.

Although *ketika* is rare in CJI it was used 67 times by one of the more formal interviewees [17]:

(418) Ketika SMA kelas dua gua pindah lagi ke Australi.
when *SMA* class two I move again to A
When I was in second year of senior high school I moved again to Australia.

This usage can be regarded as idiosyncratic; it did not occur in any of the other more formal interviews and only once in a meeting.

2.31 *ngapain* and related words

In CJI *ngapain*, based on *apa* 'what', usually means 'What (are you) doing?':

(419) Elu ngapain di sini?
you do.what at here
What are you doing here?

(420) Hari Sabtu kita mau ngapain dong?
day Saturday we want do.what *dp*
What are we going to do on Saturday, then?

In a statement it means 'do anything; do whatever':

(421) Dia mau ngapain terserah.
he want do.what up.to.him
Whatever he wants to do it's up to him.

This form, which is very frequent in CJI speech, is a rather unique informal word, having as it does the otherwise transitive suffix *-in*. It 'should' correspond to FI *mengapakan*, a transitive verb meaning 'do what to someone/something'. Instead it corresponds to more formal (*sedang*) *apa?* '(at present) doing what?'.

In some contexts it can be translated 'why?; what for?', as well as 'What (are you) doing?':

(422) Elu ngapain sih bolak-balik mulu?
you do.what *dp* back.and.forth only
What are you just going back and forth for?

(423) Gua udah punya Wanli; ngapain gue ngeliat yang lain?
I already have W do.what I look.at which other
I have Wanli (so) what would I be looking at other (girls) for?

The negated reduplicated form means 'not doing anything':

(424) Di situ cewek-ceweknya nggak ngapa-ngapain.
at there girls-*nya* not do.anything
The girls weren't doing anything there.

(425) Pemerintah diem aja, nggak ngapa-ngapain.
government quiet just not do.anything
The government just kept quiet; they didn't do anything.

(426) Banyak orang yang enggak bisa ngapa-ngapain, enggak
many person who not can do.anything not

punya apa-apa.
have anything
There are lots of people who can't do anything; who don't have anything.

There is a related transitive verb *apain* 'to do what to someone':

(427) Gue apain elu?
I do.what.to you
What did I do to you?

This transitive form is apparently never prenasalised. It can be negated and reduplicated, meaning 'not do anything to (someone)':

(428) Dia nggak apa-apain gua sih.
he not do.anything.to me *dp*
He didn't do anything to me.

It also occurs in the passive:

(429) Kira-kira kalo dari mahasiswa sendiri, ini mengharapkannya
approximately if from student self this hope-*nya*

dia diapain sih?
he have.what.done.to *dp*
From the point of view of the students themselves, what do you think they hope is done to him?

(430) Diapain lagi sih sama dia?
have.what.done.to more *dp* by her
What else did she do to it (her hair)?

Diapain can occur in statements, meaning 'have something (like that) done (to someone)':

(431) Enggak sampe elu diinjek-injek, enggak sampe elu diapain.
not until you trodden.on not until you have.what.done.to
They don't go so far as to tread on you(r toes), not so far as to do something like that to you.

This also can occur reduplicated after a negative to mean 'not have anything done (to someone)':

(432) Saya kan boleh dibilang kagak bisa diapa-apain.
I *dp* can be.said not can have.what.done.to
You could say that I'm someone who can't have anything done to him.

2.32 Words for 'perhaps, possibly': *kali* and *barangkali*

Kali is short for *barangkali* 'perhaps, possibly'.[45] *Barangkali* is the H variant; it occurs only in four of the recordings, for a total of seven times. *Kali* is an L form, strictly confined to informal speech. Its meaning can variously be translated as 'perhaps, maybe, possibly; it seems to be; I think'. It usually comes at the end of a statement:

(433) Elu bisa skolah terus sampe S3 kali.
you can school continue until *S3* perhaps
Perhaps you can continue studying up to PhD level.

(434) Nyokap-bokap gua juga orangnya gila kali, ya.
mother-father my also person-*nya* mad perhaps *dp*
I think my parents are nuts, you know.

It often co-occurs with *mungkin* 'perhaps'. In all cases recorded *mungkin* comes at or near the beginning of the statement and *kali* at the end:

(435) Mungkin terlalu keras kita kali, yah?
perhaps too hard we perhaps *dp*
Maybe we were too hard (on them) perhaps?

(436) Jadi saya mungkin mo ke Singapur kali?
so I perhaps want to Singapore perhaps
So perhaps I'll go to Singapore.

Kali can follow adjectives. Some dictionaries give 'very' as one of its meanings (as a contraction of *sekali*) and at first it may appear to have this meaning, modifying the adjective. However, in all cases checked with Jakartans they asserted that its meaning was 'perhaps' or something similar, such as 'I think':

(437) Itu masih wajar kali.
that still natural perhaps
I think it still makes sense.

(438) Mereka bingung kali ngeliat orang Asia masuk.
they puzzled perhaps see person A enter
They must have been puzzled to see an Asian coming in.

2.33 Words for 'indeed, certainly': *emang* and *memang*

Emang and *memang* mean 'indeed; certainly, really; for sure; that is so'.

(439) Aduh, emang gua kayak anak kecil yang dibeliin boneka.
exc indeed I like child little who bought doll
Oh, I'm really like a little child who's been bought a doll.

(440) Memang dari pertama maunya masuk ke sekolah pendidikan guru.
indeed from first want-*nya* enter to school education teacher
Certainly from the beginning I wanted to go to a school of teacher education.

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[45] There are homophones in CJI and FI, such as 'times' (*tiga kali* 'three times').

Emang is the L variant as it is confined to informal situations. *Memang* is a neutral variant; it is the only form used in FI but is common in the most informal situations also and was more frequent that *emang* in all contexts other than conversations among younger speakers. *Emang* was very rare in the semiformal meetings.

The figures gained from corpus are below, with the details for the texts given in Appendix B Table 14:

Table 14: Words meaning 'indeed, certainly'

	emang	*memang*	total	% L
younger conversations	153	42	195	78.5
younger interviews	98	128	226	43.4
older conversations	31	54	85	36.5
older interviews	22	43	65	33.8
meetings	3	46	49	6.1

2.34 Words for 'to like': *doyan*, *demen* and *suka*

Suka 'to like' is the H variant to two L words: *doyan* and *demen*. *Doyan* usually precedes verbs referring to eating and the like and to nouns which refer to foodstuffs. *Demen* precedes verbs and nouns or noun phrases which refer to other than foodstuffs. *Suka* occurs in both contexts. In the following examples each of the words occurs before a noun and before a verb:

(441) Gue nggak suka cowok pendek.
I not like boy short
I don't like short boys.

(442) Tujuh puluh persen cowok-cowok suka naik motor.
[70] percent boys like ride motor.bike
Seventy percent of boys like to ride motorbikes.

(443) Orang luar negri doyan bawang Bombay juga, yah?
person [overseas] like onion B also *dp*
Overseas people like Bombay onions too do they?

(444) Gua kan jerawatan gara-gara dulu doyan makan kacang.
I *dp* pimply because previous like eat peanut
You know, I have these pimples because I used to love eating peanuts.

(445) Sandy kan demen ketawa kan.
S *dp* like laugh *dp*
I like to laugh, you know.

(446) A: Lu nggak suka boneka?
you not like doll

B: Suka sih, demen yang lucu-lucu.
like *dp* like which cute

A: Don't you like dolls?

B: I do like them. I like cute things.

There is some variation in the use of *doyan*. Some people use it in connection with activities such as games, but most avoid this:

(447) Wah ini anak doyan maen bilyard.
exc this kid like play billiard
Hey, this kid likes playing billiards.

Suka is the H variant because it is the only word which occurs in FI. However, it is far from being highly formal. It is far more common in informal conversations than either *doyan* or *demen*.

In CJI *suka* can also mean 'frequently, often':

(448) Kan kalo di *supermarket* tuh suka dijual bambu yang
dp if in that often sold bamboo which
panjang-panjang.
tall
You know, in the supermarket they often sell tall types of bamboo.

(449) Sampe sekarang ya kalo bokap gua ngomong apa
until now *dp* if dad my say anything
gua suka berontak.
I often rebel
Well up till now I often rebel if my dad says anything.

2.35 Words for 'like, resembling': *kayak* and *seperti*

These mean 'like', as in *kayak gua*/*seperti saya* 'like me'. *Seperti* is the H variant, being the only one to occur in FI. *Kayak*, sometimes pronounced *kaya*, *kaye*, or *keye*, is very frequent as a staller or hedge, particularly in *kayaknya* 'I think, I mean' (see §3.3.3).

Kayak most frequently occurs alone, meaning 'like; resembling', as does *seperti*:

(450) Gimana kalo Dinda dapet cowok kayak Fido, ya?
how if D get boy like F *dp*
What if Dinda got a boyfriend like Fido, eh?

(451) Di rumah gua juga ditanemin taneman-taneman tinggi kayak cemara.
at house my also planted plants tall like casuarina
At my place there have been planted tall plants like casuarina trees.

Kayak can follow *sama*, the phrase *sama kayak* meaning 'just like; the same as':

(452) Nyokap-bokap gue tuh sama kayak orangtuanya si Bule.
mother-father my that same like parents-*nya* *dim* B
My parents are just the same as Bule's parents.

Kayak also occurs very frequently in *kayak gitu*, corresponding to FI *seperti itu* 'like that':

(453) Gue paling enggak suka cewek kayak gitu, gitu lo.
I most not like girl like that thus *dp*
I least like girls who are like that, you know.

(454) Emang adat-istiadatnya kayak gitu?
indeed customs-their like that
Are their customs really like that?

This can also be used as a staller, meaning 'sort of; you know':

(455) Gua tu mo, kayak gitu, *mingle*.
I that want [sort of]
I like to, sort of, mingle.

Kayak gini also occurs, corresponding to FI *seperti ini* 'like this':

(456) Nggak mungkin dia yang ngebungkus kayak gini, gitu loh.
not possible he who wrap like this thus *dp*
He couldn't possibly be the one who wrapped it like this, you know.

Another common combination is *kayak gimana*, meaning 'what (is it) like? like what?':

(457) Gua nggak mau tau kehidupan masa lalu dia kayak gimana.
I not want know life time past his like what
I don't want to know what his past life was like.

(458) Waktu itu jadi asisten itu kerjanya kayak gimana emang?
time that be assistant that work-*nya* like how indeed
What was the work actually like being an assistant then?

Kayak apa also occurs with this meaning:

(459) Cewek yang elu mau kayak apa?
girl who you want like what
What sort of girl do you want? (lit: What is the girl you want like?)

The percentages for L *kayak* are lower in conversations than for many other L variants. Rather surprisingly then the percentages remain higher in the semi-formal meetings than do most other L variants. In typical fashion there is a great deal of variation in the usage of different people; some younger interviewees used *seperti* more frequently than *kayak*, while one older interviewee did not use *seperti* at all. The details are given in Appendix B Table 15:[46]

Table 15: Words meaning 'like, resembling'

	kayak	*seperti*	total	% L
conversations	346	66	412	84.0
interviws	272	137	409	66.5
meetings	25	60	85	29.4

[46] *Kayaknya* (see §3.3.3) is excluded from these figures.

2.36 Words for 'want, desire': *pengen* and *ingin*

Pengen is a L counterpart to H *ingin* 'want, desire'. There are a number of other L variants: *pingin, kepengen* and *kepingin*, although these occur very infrequently and are not used by many people. *Ingin* is highly marked for formal language; it occurred just twice in conversations and was only used by three people in interviews. It was, however, the common word in meetings.

Examples of *pengen*:

(460) Setelah pulang dari Australi dia nggak pengen kerja lagi.
after come.home from A he not wish work more
After coming home from Australia he hasn't wanted to work any more.

(461) Gua pengen *married* cepet. Jujur aja, gua pengen *married* cepet.
I want fast honest just I want fast
I want to get married quickly. Quite honestly, I want to get married quickly.

In the following *pengen* alternates with *kepingin*:

(462) Kalo kita punya keinginan sesuatu itu, kepingin apa, ya
if we have desire something that want what *dp*

pengen dapet pekerjaan, pengen apa gitu, bisa dengan puasa.
want get job want what thus can with fast
If we have a desire for something, if we want something, like wanting to get a job or wanting anything at all, we can achieve it with fasting.

Frequencies of the variables are:[47]

Table 16: Words meaning 'want, desire'

	pengen	*pingin*	*kepengen*	*kepingin*	*ingin*	total	% L
conversations	77	0	7	8	2	94	97.9
interviews	78	3	4	0	11	96	88.5
meetings	0	2	0	0	9	11	18.2

Details are given in Appendix B Table 16.

2.37 Words for 'give': *kasi(h)* and *beri(kan)*

In FI *memberi*, optionally occurring with suffix *-kan*,[48] is the general word for 'give'. In CJI the more common word is *kasi* ~ *kasih*:

(463) Saya suka membantu. Saya kadang-kadang dikasi *tip* gitu,
I like help I sometimes given thus

[47] In a number of texts none of the variants occurred.

[48] Prescriptively *-kan* can optionally occur only when the verb is followed by the direct object, as in *beri(kan) buku* 'give the book'. It cannot occur if the verb is followed by the indirect object, as in *beri dia buku* 'give him the book'. In practice, however, most people freely use or omit the suffix in both contexts.

dikasi uang gitu lo untuk itu.
given money thus *dp* for that
I liked to help. Sometimes I was given a tip, given money for that.

(464) Dia kasi tanda gitu supaya saya pindah ke mobilnya.
he give sign thus so.that I move to car-his
He gave a signal for me to move to his car.

Kasi occurs in a number of compounds, the most common of which are *kasi tau* 'tell', *kasi liat* 'show' and *kasi makan* 'feed':

(465) Saya kasi tau kamu ya! Saya tu uda marah sekali sama dia!
I [tell] you *dp* I that already angry very at him
I'm telling you, right! I'm really furious at him!

In CJI *kasi*(*h*) is much more common than *beri*(*kan*) in all categories of conversation and interview. In the semi-formal meetings, however, it is of very limited frequency, which shows it to be strongly marked for informality.

Table 17: Words meaning 'give'

	kasi(*h*)	*beri*(*kan*)	total	% L
younger conversations	103	14	117	88.0
younger interviews	81	49	130	62.3
older conversations	8	5	13	61.5
older interviews	55	14	69	79.7
meetings	4	37	41	9.8

Details of the statistics are given in Appendix B Table 17.

2.38 Words for 'say': *bilang* and *katakan*

In CJI *bilang* 'to say' is one of the most frequently occurring verbs. It is strongly associated with informal speech and rarely occurs in purely formal language:

(466) Terus Ibu Aileen langsung bilang, 'Iyah, betul.'
then Mrs A immediately say yes correct
Then Mrs Aileen immediately said, 'Yes, that's correct.'

(467) Tau nggak dia bilang apa?
know not he say what
Do you know what he said?

The passive form *dibilang* 'to be said' also occurs:

(468) Berapa kali dibilang gue ngomongnya kurang ajar
how.many times said I talk-*nya* [discourteous]
dan seperti preman?
and like lout
How many times has it been said that I talk discourteously and like a lout?

It can also occur with suffix *-in* (see §2.7), although this is rare:

(469) Uda berapa kali dibilangin?
already how.many times said
How many times has it been said?

There is an H variant *katakan* 'to say'. It occurs in the more formal texts but not in the conversations of younger people:

(470) Gue akan mengatakan delapan puluh persen anak Atma Jaya
I will say [80] percent kid A J
bahkan tidak tau apa-apa.
moreover not know anything
I would say that 80% of Atma Jaya students moreover don't know anything.

Katakan occurred in the meetings, where it was more frequent than *bilang*. It occurred in only one text among older speakers, an interview. It also occurred in the two most formal interviews of younger people. Occurrences of L and H variants in these texts are the following, where numbers include derivatives with *di-* and – in the case of *katakan* – prefix *meng-*:

Table 18: Words meaning 'say'

text	*bilang*	*katakan*
16	24	4
17	39	12
19	67	17
22	18	21
31	4	5

Although *katakan* occurred more than *bilang* in the semi-formal meetings, *bilang* nevertheless occurred 45.8% of times in that context, which is a much higher percentage than usual for an L variant.

There is also an H variant *berkata* 'to say', although this occurred only eight times in the corpus (and did not occur in the meetings).

Another word is *kata*, frequently nominalised to *katanya*. This is common in both CJI and FI and so is neutral as to style. This is usually somewhat different in function from *bilang*. Its basic meaning is 'word' though it also means '(someone) said' or, with *-nya*, 'they say; it is said':

(471) Nancy masih agak sombong, kata Ronny.
N still rather arrogant say R
Nancy's still rather arrogant, says Ronny.

(472) Katanya sih muka saya mirip papa saya, ya.
say-*nya* *dp* face my resemble dad my *dp*
They say my face resembles my father's, you know.

2.39 Words for 'talk, speak; say': *ngomong* and *bicara*

Omong, almost always prefixed as *ngomong*, is an L word for 'talk, speak; say':

(473) Gua mikirnya, gua ngomong sama diri gua sendiri gitu.
I think-*nya* I talk to [myself] thus
I think I'm talking to myself.

(474) Gua agak-agak kurang bisa ngomong bahasa sini, yah?
I rather less can speak language here *dp*
I can't really speak the language in this place well, you know.

(475) Tapi sebenernya yang tadi Vincy ngomong itu,
but actually what just.now V say that

mungkin bener lo.
perhaps true *dp*
But actually what Vincy just said might be true, you know.

The H equivalent of *ngomong* is *berbicara*. *Ngomong* and *bilang* (see §2.38) overlap in meaning, in that both can be translated 'say'. However, there are noticable differences. *Bilang* is transitive while *ngomong* is not; while it can have a complement, as in (474) and (475) above, there is no passive form. The forms must be regarded as belonging to separate variables.

While *berbicara* is an H variant, largely confined to FI, the more informal unprefixed form *bicara* also occurs. This is a product of the informal dropping of prefix *ber-* (see §2.4). It is noticable that *bicara* occurs almost exclusively in the meetings, being largely absent from conversations and interviews. The one exception is in the speech of an older woman [19–20], who uses it four times in quoting and the remaining times in rather formal passages:

(476) Sesudah makan, saya dipersilahkan bicara sama kepala biro:
after eat I invited speak by head bureau

'Ibu silakan bicara.' Saya bicara; saya bilang, ..
ma'am please speak I speak I say
After dinner I was invited to speak by the bureau head: 'Please speak, ma'am'.
I spoke, saying, ..

Because of its distribution, occurring mainly in meetings but rare in more informal styles and of limited occurrence in FI, *bicara* is probably best regarded as characteristic of semi-formal speech, while *berbicara* is H. Since there is no noticable difference in habits of younger and older speakers they are included together in the table. Details are given in Appendix B Table 19:

Table 19a: Words meaning 'talk, speak'

	(ng)omong	*bicara*	*berbicara*	total	*% omong*
conversations and interviews	292	18	1	311	93.9
meetings	13	16	11	40	32.5

There is also a transitive word *omongin* 'say, talk about, discuss':

(477) Apa yang diomongin?
what which discussed
What are you talking about?

(478) Jadi sekarang kita mau ngomongin topiknya cewek.
so now we want discuss topic-*nya* girl
So now we want to discuss the topic of girls.

The H equivalent is *bicarakan*. These forms do not occur frequently in the corpus and details are not given in the Appendix:

Table 19b: Words for 'talk about, discuss'

	omongin	*bicarakan*	total	*% omongin*
conversations and interviews	35	9	44	79.5
meetings	5	8	13	38.5

A frequent derivative of *omong* is the noun *omongan* '(the) talk, words, what is said':

(479) Semoga omongan Yuli tu bener.
hopefully talk Y that true
Hopefully what Yuli says is true.

(480) Nggak salah dong omongan gue.
not wrong *dp* talk my
What I said isn't wrong, I tell you.

Another frequent form is *ngomong-ngomong* which, apart from indicating continued speaking, can mean 'by the way; talking about':

(481) Ngomong-ngomong tentang kondisi fisik kampus kita ..
talk.about about condition physical campus our
Talking about the physical conditions on our campus ..

2.40 Words for 'big': *gede* and *besar*

The common word for 'big' in FI is *besar*. The word *gede* does not occur in FI but is the more common word in CJI, especially among young people:

(482) Tempatnya romantis dan makanannya nggak mahal dan
place-*nya* romantic and food-*nya* not expensive and

porsinya gede.
portions-*nya* big
The place is romantic and the food isn't expensive and the servings are big.

(483) Kan gua kalo tulis surat, jadi kayak koran gede, gitu lo ya.
dp I if write letter be like newspaper big thus *dp dp*
You know, if I wrote (him) a letter it would be like a enormous newspaper.

In the following both words occur, one soon after the other:

(484) A: Kadang-kadang begitu dicabut besar loh!
sometimes thus extracted big *dp*

B: Akarnya! Akarnya kan yang gede.
root-*nya* root-*nya* *dp* which big

A: Sometimes when it (a tooth) is pulled out, it's really big.

B: It's the root! It's the root that's big.

It is not a very frequently used variable; in many texts neither variant occurred. The details of the following table are given in Appendix B Table 20:

Table 20: Words meaning 'big'

	gede	*besar*	total	% L
younger conversations	62	8	70	88.6
younger interviews	59	34	93	63.4
older conversations	5	3	8	62.5
older interviews	20	21	41	48.8
meetings	2	24	26	7.7

As the figures show, both younger and older speakers used *gede* more frequently in conversations than in interviews. In meetings the number dropped to a very low percentage; in one meeting it did not occur at all. It is therefore strongly associated with more informal speech.

2.41 'Slang' terms: *cowok, cewek* and *bokap, nyokap*

The term 'slang' is frequently applied to CJI words which do not occur in FI. However, many such terms are so frequent in the everyday speech of educated Jakartans that they can justly be regarded as the colloquial standard words. Two pairs of words which are perhaps more deserving of being called slang are discussed here. Nevertheless, even if they are slang terms they occur with such frequency in the informal speech of younger people that they deserve consideration in any description of CJI.

2.41.1 *cowok* and *cewek*

The words *cowok* 'male, man; guy; boyfriend' and *cewek* 'female, woman; girl; girlfriend' are so common in the speech of educated youths that it can be argued the label 'slang' is not justified. They are, however, highly marked as L variants. They do not occur in the meetings nor frequently in the speech of most older people.

(485) Kakak saya cowok, adik saya cowok.
older.sib my male younger.sib my male
My older sibling is male, my younger sibling is male.

(486) Gua nggak suka cewek yang obsesif dan posesif.
I not like girl who obsessive and possessive
I don't like obsessive and possessive girls.

The H variables *laki-laki*, *pria* 'man, male' and *perempuan, wanita* 'female, woman' do not occur at all in most younger conversations and interviews. They are therefore highly marked for formality. The following figures show the preponderance of *cewek* and *cowok* in younger conversations and interviews and their limited occurrence in the conversations and interviews of older people:[49]

Table 21: Numbers of words for 'male' etc. and 'female' etc. in texts

	cowok	*laki-laki*	*pria*	*cewek*	*perempuan*	*wanita*[50]
younger	154	1	1	263	14	9
older	13	16	3	7	8	7

The words can also refer to animals:

(487) Anjing elu cewek apa cowok, sih?
dog your female or male *dp*
Is your dog male or female?

Unlike the more formal words mentioned above *cowok* and *cewek* can mean 'boyfriend' and 'girlfriend' respectively:

(488) Aku belum pengen punya cowok.
I not.yet want have boyfriend
I don't want to have a boyfriend yet.

This slightly skews the figures above but not greatly as the percentage of occurrences with this meaning is not large. In the meaning 'boyfriend, girlfriend' *pacar* also occurs.

2.41.2 *bokap* and *nyokap*

The words *bokap* 'father' and *nyokap* 'mother' are used to refer to one's own or someone else's parents. They are from Prokem, the argot common among Jakarta's youth.[51] These are the only Prokem words occurring in the corpus with any sort of frequency.[52] They are rare in the speech of older people and do not occur in FI. They are therefore highly informal. Overwhelmingly they are the favoured forms among young people for reference to parents in conversations and interviews.[53]

(489) Gua sama bokap gua enggak akur.
I and dad my not accord
My dad and I don't get along.

---

49 The difference in numbers of words for 'male' and 'female' is in part a function of the topics of conversation; the high occurrence of gender words reflects the interests of younger people. Because of the absence of H variants from most recordings involving younger speakers the details are not given in the Appendix.

50 The word *gadis* 'girl; young lady' does not occur in the corpus, although it does occur in FI.

51 Prokem is discussed by Chambert-loir (1984).

52 The only other word noticed was *toket* 'tits'.

53 They were absent from the speech of most younger people in the corpus but only because they did not speak about parents. In such texts other terms were also absent or very few.

(490) Gua nggak mungkin dong cerita ama nyokap gua.
I not possible *dp* tell to mum my
I couldn't possibly tell my mum about it.

The following table shows the number of occurrences of various words for (referring to) 'father' and 'mother' in younger conversations and interviews:

Table 22: Words for 'father' and 'mother' in the speech of younger people

'father'	*bokap*	*ayah*	*papa*	*papi*	*bapak*	total	*% bokap*
	89	2	8	4	1	104	85.6
'mother'	*nyokap*	*ibu*	*mama*	*mami*		total	*% nyokap*
	182	10	12	4		208	87.5

These words are not used, as are *ibu/bu* 'mother' and *bapak/pak* 'father', as terms of address or as pronoun substitutes or before personal names. They can occur in combination, as *nyokap-bokap* or *bokap-nyokap*, for 'parents':

(491) Dulu tuh nyokap-bokap gua tuh kan mampulah, gitu loh.
previous that mum-dad my that *dp* well.off-*lah* thus *dp*
Well, previously my parents were well-off, you know.

(492) Bokap-nyokap gua tuh nggak pernah nelfon dia.
dad-mum my that not ever telephone him
My parents never telephone him.

Like *cewek* and *cowok* it can be argued that these words are too common in the speech of educated youths to justify the label 'slang', although they would not be used by them in formal settings. It is interesting that even one of the speaker who in general uses more formal language than others in youth interviews [17], used no other terms to refer to her parents.

3 *Pragmatic aspects of colloquial discourse*

3.0 Introduction

Probably the greatest differences between colloquial and formal varieties of Indonesian result from the fact that the former is almost entirely used in face-to-face contacts while much of the latter is either written or spoken in impersonal contexts, such as in lectures, political speeches, debates, news interviews, law court proceedings, and the like.

Formal Indonesian thus has about it the impersonal quality typical of formal varieties of most languages. On the other hand, colloquial speech reflects the social context in which it is used, and the personal relations between participants. Pragmatic aspects are thus highly relevant to any description of CJI. Much speech is context-bound; interlocutors have much the same background knowledge which does not have to be explicitly stated and discourse particles of various kinds establish links of solidarity between participants in conversations.

Modern Formal Indonesian (Standard Indonesian) is 'intertranslatable' with modern Western languages. Achieving such intertranslatability has been a major goal of language planning in Indonesia; Formal Indonesian is able to express concepts of the modern world in all areas of experience and in a way that allows literal translation into Western languages. On the other hand, presuppositions and use of discourse particles are fundamental to CJI speech and bind it tightly to its social context.

The following sections describe some of the major pragmatic characteristics of CJI. Conventions used in the discussion of examples are described in §2.0.

3.1 The context-bound nature of CJI

Of all the differences between CJI and FI the greatest lies in the extreme context-bound nature of CJI. Much of CJI discourse is carried on in contexts where the speaker assumes a shared knowledge on the part of the listener. This is rarely the case in FI. In spoken and written formal language the speaker or writer rarely has the expectation that the listener or reader has the same background knowledge. Thus things are 'spelled out' in detail; along with this goes more elaborate grammar, with generally well-formed, often planned, sentences.

On the other hand, as spontaneous conversation CJI rarely occurs as complete, well-formed sentences.[1] Ellipsis, omission, repetition, redundancy, incomplete sentences and obscuring of sentence boundaries are all common features of CJI.[2] In CJI much information must be inferred from the context of the conversation. Presuppositions which are part of the shared knowledge of members of the community supply a great deal of the information necessary for effective communication. Lack of knowledge of pragmatic assumptions can greatly reduce the intelligibility of conversation to an outsider.

Five aspects of the context-bound nature of CJI speech are discussed below. First, ellipsis, which is the omission of words which are clear from context. Second, the preposition *sama*, to illustrate the semantic vagueness of much CJI speech in comparison with more formal language. Third, discourse in which information is kept to a minimum because of the shared background knowledge of the participants. Fourth, the frequent use of quotations without the speaker stating that it is a quote. Finally, the intimacy device of using the listener's name.

3.1.1 Ellipsis

Ellipsis refers to the omission from a sentence of a word when its presence is not necessary, often because the word has already occurred, either in the same sentence or in a preceding one. Ellipsis can also occur when the person or thing referred to is clear from context, even if not explicitly mentioned previously. Ellipsis binds conversation to its context to a considerable degree; an utterance with an ellipted element is never fully interpretable out of context.

One reason for ellipsis is to focus attention on new information by avoiding repetition of old information. This happens in English also. Ellipsis of the subject commonly occurs in both languages, as in the following example, where B omits the subject because it has already been mentioned:

(1) A: Siapa sih Ibu Reta?
who *dp* Mrs R

B: Sekretarisnya Pak Harimurti.
secretary-*nya* Mr H

A: Who is Mrs Reta?

B: [She is] Mr H's secretary.

Frequently pronouns can be omitted in Indonesian where their presence is required in English. Pronouns in translations to examples below are placed in square brackets where the corresponding form in Indonesian is ellipted.

When people are talking about themselves the pronoun is very frequently omitted unless there is uncertainty who is meant. In contexts such as the following the first person pronoun would only be used for emphasis, particularly to make a contrast:

---

1 Discussions of the characteristics of spontaneous conversation include Ochs (1979), Stubbs (1983), and for one variety of informal Indonesian, Rafferty (1979).

2 CJI is becoming increasingly used in writing, such as in television plays. In this written mode it loses many of the characteristics of spontaneous speech.

(2) A: Permen apa nih?
sweets what this

B: Nggak tau.
not know

A: What sort of sweets are these?

B: [I] don't know.

In the following the speaker identifies herself by the possessive in the first clause: *nyokap gua* 'my mother'. The pronoun *gua* is then ellipted in a series of following clauses:

(3) Nyokap gua *stroke*. Ya pulanglah. Pulang ke Jakarta. Nyari
mum my *dp* go.home-*lah* go.home to J seek

kerja. Dalam waktu satu bulan langsung dapet pekerjaan. Dapet
work in time one month directly get work get

di Bambino International School. Ngajar anak-anak kecil.
in B I S teach children little
My mother had a stroke. Well, [I] returned home. [I] returned to Jakarta, [I] looked for work. Within one month [I] got work, [I] got it at Bambina International School. [I] taught little children.

Ellipsis of second and third person pronouns is also common. The following relates to a story of a writer. After being identified, *dia* 'he' is repeatedly omitted as the subject of (mainly passive) verbs:

(4) Ada pengarang lagi nyetir mobil. Keperosok di got, gitu kan.
be writer present drive car plunge in ditch thus *dp*

Langsung kecelakaan gitu. Ditolong sama penggemarnya dia.
direct accident thus helped by admirer-*nya* his

Namanya Annie, iya kan? Annie siapa gitu. Terus dikurung di
name-her A *dp* *dp* A who thus then imprisoned in

rumahnya. Disuruh bikin cerita, gitu kan. Pernah mencoba kabur.
house-her ordered make story thus *dp* ever try disappear
There was a writer driving a car. [He] went over into a ditch. It was an accident, you see. [He] was helped by an admirer of his. Her name was Annie, wasn't it? Annie someone. Then [he] was locked up in her house. [He] was ordered to write a story. [He] tried to escape.

Possessive pronouns are commonly omitted when it is clear who is meant:

(5) Gua terlalu banyak pikiran. Pencernaan enggak bagus.
I too much thoughts digestion not good
I think too much. [My] digestion isn't good.

The ellipsis of nouns or pronouns identifying inanimate things is especially common. In most cases the alternative in Indonesian is repetition of the noun as pronouns are rarely used for non-humans:

(6) Terus dia bilang 'Kamu enggak usah ngumpulin'. Ya udah,
then he say you not need collect *dp* already

enggak gua kumpulin.
not I collect
Then he said 'You don't have to collect [them]'. Alright, then, I didn't collect [them].

In the following, *uang kecil* 'small change' is mentioned in the first clause so does not have to be subsequently identified:

(7) Sebenernya kalo memang ada uang kecil, kasih aja gitu.
actually if indeed be money small give just thus

Karena mungkin enggak berarti bagi kita; lima ratus, apa seribu,
because perhaps not mean for us [500] or [1000]

atau dua ribu, gitu loh. Ya mungkin enggak kita tabung, kita
or [2000] thus *dp* *dp* perhaps not we save we

beliin buat rokok, atau makanan gorengan.
buy for cigarette or food fried
Actually if we have small change [we] just give [it] (for something). Because perhaps [it] has no meaning for us: five hundred (rupiah) or a thousand or two thousand. Yes, probably we wouldn't save [it], we'd use [it] to buy cigarettes or fried snacks.

Ellipsis of the agent in passive type one clauses is very common. While extremely rare ellipsis of the agent in a passive type two construction can occur. (For ellipsis of these see §2.9, especially examples (164) and (165)).

Ellipsis occurs when the speaker assumes the listener will understand who is referred to. However, miscalculation can occur. In the following B thinks A tugs her own slacks:

(8) A: Gua kalo ngeliat pengemis gua tuh suka sebel. Gua tuh
I if see beggar I that like cross I that

sebelnya kalo ngeliat mereka tuh ya duduk di jembatan
cross-*nya* if see them that *dp* sit on bridge

gitu yah. Narik-narik celana gua, gitu loh.
thus *dp* tugging slacks my thus *dp*

B: Ngapain narik-narik celana Yuli? Ada apaan?
why tugging slacks Y be what

A: Bukan. Maksudnya, yang pengemis itu loh.
no meaning-*nya* which beggar that *dp*

B: Oh.
exc

A: When I see beggars I get very annoyed. I get annoyed when I see them sitting on the (pedestrian) bridge. [They are] always tugging my slacks and so on.

B: Why do [you] tug [your] slacks, Yuli? What's the problem?

A: Not me. I mean the beggars (do it).

B: Oh.

While pronouns are very frequently omitted if understood from context they need not be, even if not necessary for emphasis. In the following example every instance of *saya* after the first could have been omitted, as is one possible occurrence:

(9) Saya masuk dunia tari itu dari kelas satu SD. Pertama
I enter world dance that from class one *SD* first

kali saya masuk Bina Vokalia dulu. Nyanyi. Terus saya ngeliat
time I enter B V first sing then I see

temen saya ikut pementasan ..
friend my join performance
I entered the world of dancing from second class primary school. At first I entered Bina Vokalie. [I] sang. Then I saw my friends participating in a stage performance.

In one interview of approximately 9,800 words, a 47-year-old woman used *saya* 'I' 837 times. Many of these instances would have been omitted by most other speakers. (See §4.5 for part of this interview.)

3.1.2 The functions of *sama*

Some aspects of the context-bound nature of CJI speech are exemplified by the preposition *sama ~ ama*. This corresponds to a number of prepositions in FI, each of which has a relatively narrow range of functions, as discussed in §2.10.1. While each FI preposition allows explicit understanding out of context, use of *sama* requires the listener to be aware of context, both linguistic – preceding and following utterances – and extra-linguistic – what is happening around the speakers or in the cultural context. In examples in this section *sama* is glossed *prep* (preposition).

Since *sama* can identify both agent and recipient of an action there occur many instances where, out of context, constructions with *sama* are ambiguous as to these two functions. In (10) *sama* marks the agent, although in other contexts it could mark recipient:

(10) Nah, itu dibilang sama temen gua 'Elu goblok banget'.
dp that said *prep* friend my you stupid very
Well, my friend said, 'You're really stupid'.

Without the context being known *sama* in (10) could mean 'to' rather than 'by', *dibilang sama temen gua* being interpretable as 'told/said by my friend' or 'told/said to my friend'. The sentence could thus mean: Well, my friend was told, 'You're really stupid'.

In the following example *sama* marks the recipient, although in another context it could mark the agent:

(11) Terus kasih-sayang dikasi sama yang kecil.
then love-affection given *prep* who little
Furthermore, love and affection are given to the little ones.

In another context *dikasi sama yang kecil* could mean 'given by the little one(s)'.

The potential ambiguity is clearly shown by the following, where *diajarin ama* is first used to mean 'taught by' and then 'taught to' by the same interviewee (where .. indicates a considerable number of intervening sentences):

(12) Gue diajarin ama orangtua gua juga untuk kritis, gitu loh. ..
I taught *prep* parent my also to critical thus *dp*

Itu yang diajarin ama kita.
that which taught *prep* us
I was taught by my parents to be critical too. .. That's what was taught to us.

Ambiguity is not always present; *diambil sama dia* and *diterima sama dia* can only mean 'fetched by him' and 'received by him' respectively, since the verbs *diambil* 'fetched, got' and *diterima* 'received' do not occur with a recipient (indirect object). Hence with these verbs *sama* must mean 'by' rather than 'to'. Nevertheless, the number of verbs which allow a recipient is sufficiently large that such ambiguity is potentially quite frequent.

With some verbs ambiguity between the meanings 'by' and 'with' is possible:

(13) Anak kecil umur dua atau tiga tahun, dibuang sama orangtuanya.
child little age two or three year thrown.out *prep* parent-its

Yah, enggak ada yang ngurus lagi. Jelas anak kecil itu kan
dp not be who care.for more clear child little that *dp*

enggak mampu apa-apa.
not able anything
A young child of two or three years is thrown out by its parents. Yes, there is no one to look after it any more. It's clear the child is not capable of doing anything.

The meaning of *sama* in (13) is clear because of what is said in the following sentences; *sama* marks the actor. However, in another context *dibuang sama orangtuanya* could mean 'thrown out together with its parents'.

The above examples show that context is important for interpreting the precise function of *sama* in informal Indonesian utterances. On the other hand, in FI the prepositions *oleh* 'by', *kepada* 'to', *dengan* 'with', and so on, make the speaker's intention clear even out of context.

3.1.3 Shared knowledge

People within a society have many experiences in common and share a great deal of knowledge about their community. This shared knowledge need not always be verbally expressed when they talk to each other. This is particularly the case among people who are fully aware of sharing such knowledge. In the following example three recent graduates in Education are discussing further study:

(14) A: Kalo misalnya gua bisa sekolah lagi, gua tuh pengen
if for.example I can school more I that want

ngambil yang Hukum.
take which law

B: Tapi masalahnya bisa nggak dia buka misalnya kita S1
but for.example can not they open for.example we *S1*

background-nya Pendidikan?
background-our education

A: Bisa sih katanya. Tapi ya lu harus ngambil – ngulang
can *dp* word-their but *dp* you must take repeat

beberapa mata kuliah yang ada di S1, begitu.
several [subject] which be in *SI* thus

C: Ya, kayak Marisa Hak aja. Ekonomi ngambil yang
dp like M H just economics take which

Linguistik, ya kan?
linguistics *dp dp*

A: If I'm able to continue studying I'd like to take Law.

B: But the thing is, can they accept people like us whose bachelor's background is Education?

A: They say they can. But you have to take – to repeat some of your bachelor's subjects, you see.

C: Yes, just like MH. She did Economics as an undergraduate and now she's doing Linguistics in her postgraduate study, right?

Much has to be filled in in the translation to make it intelligible to an outsider, especially when the last speaker says *Ekonomi ngambil yang Linguistik*. The three speakers share the knowledge that M H did Economics in her undergraduate degree and then took Linguistics as a post-graduate course; there is no need for the details to be spelled out.

In the following people are talking about whether a courtship should last a long time; information is kept to a minimum:

(15) A: Jangan pacaran lama-lama.
don't date very.long

B: Tau nggak, gua waktu itu denger yah dia, tau nggak,
know not I time that hear *dp* he know not

pacaran uda sembilan taon, dari kecil. Pas kawin ni,
dating already nine year from little when marry this

gede-gedean dong. Yang undangannya yang mahal, *luxury*
large.scale *dp* which invitation-*nya* which expensive

banget deh. Eh, tau nggak? Dua bulan …
very *dp* *exc* know not two month

A: Cere.
separate

A: Never have a long-term relationship.

B: You know, I've heard (of someone) who was going out for nine years, from when they were little. When they got married it was a really big affair. The invitations were very expensive and it was a luxurious event. And, you know, two months later ...

A: They split up.

In the following *Tas dandanannya tinggi banget* literally means 'Her cosmetics purse was very high'. It is only the inappropriateness of this to the context – a story of a friend who fell over in a paddy field – that allows the correct interpretation, as is also the case with the preceding sentence:

(16) Tasnya yang tas bajunya cuek aja, jatoh nggak papa
bag-her which bag clothes-her ignore just fall [not matter]

Tas dandanannya tinggi banget!
bag make.up-her high very
She didn't care that her clothes bag fell down (into the mud), but she held her make-up bag high.

In the following the interviewee was relating how she had been asked to a university orientation function to help friends. In the translation *Jangan terlalu ini* is rendered 'Don't be too nice to them'. The interviewer/transcriber, a close friend of the speaker and former fellow student, had heard the story previously. She clearly understood this was the intention. To literally translate this as 'Don't be too this' would be uninformative. Earlier in the conversation the speaker had told how in the past she was always depended on to do cooking at this activity. Rudi's statement can only make sense if this background knowledge is considered. A word-for-word translation, as written text out of context, would not be intelligible:

(17) Apalagi nanti kalo gua pergi nggak ada cowok gua nggak
besides soon if I go no be boyfriend my not

mungkin dong. Rudinya itu sih nggak kasih ya. Katanya Rudi,
possible *dp* R-*nya* that *dp* not give *dp* word-*nya* R

'Udala, jangan terlalu ini. Nanti mereka nggak bisa – apa-apa
already-*lah* not too this soon they not can anything

suruhnya kamu, apa-apa suruhnya kamu.' Bener juga, gitu loh.
order-*nya* you anything order-*nya* you true also thus *dp*
Besides that, it was impossible to go to the orientation without my boyfriend. Well, Rudy didn't allow me to go. He said, 'That's enough. Don't be too nice to them. They won't be able to (do anything). They'll tell you to do everything'. And I think he's right.

Spontaneous speech is unplanned, lacking forethought and preparation. One consequence of this is that a speaker may suddenly remember something that should have been said earlier and turn immediately to that, even in the middle of a sentence. This can cause events to be linked in a disjointed way, which may even confuse other participants in the conversation:

(18) Jadi ketika ditanyai do- ah mahasiswinya merasa tertekan, ngadu,
so when asked student-*nya* feel pressured complain

kemudian ditanyain oleh pimpinan fakultas. Dia bilang dia
after asked by leaders faculty he say she

memutar-balikkan fakta. Katanya mahasiswinya yang mengundang,
twist fact word-his student-*nya* who invite

gitu loh.
thus *dp*
So when he was asked the le- ah the student felt pressured and she complained. He was then questioned by the faculty leadership. He said she had twisted the facts. He said it was the student who had invited it.

Here *mahasiswinya merasa tertekan, ngadu,* 'the (female) student felt pressured (and) complained' should have been said first; the lecturer was questioned following her complaint. The speaker remembered this after beginning and so backtracked. He then immediately went back to where he was, saying *kemudian ditanyain* 'was then questioned'. This results in uncertainty as who was questioned, the lecturer or the student. Uncertainty is compounded by the speaker beginning to say *dosen* 'lecturer' before correcting to *mahasiswi* 'female student' and by the use of *dia* first meaning 'he' and then meaning 'she', when *Dia bilang dia* .. could alternatively be interpreted 'She said he ..'.[3]

3.1.4 The use of quotations

If a person is quoted in planned discourse the speaker identifies this person by use of 'He said,' 'She stated', or the like. In colloquial speech the speaker does not always indicate who is being quoted or that the words used actually are a quotation. In such cases the listener has to infer that someone is being quoted:

(19) Dia mau manas-manasin gua beli barang tu. 'Bagus, bagus, bagus'.
she want heat.up me buy things that good good good
She was trying to stir me up to buy things, (saying) 'This is good, this is good'.

(20) Nyampe sono anak-anak langsung, 'Hah? Obe dateng?' Pada kaget.
arrive there kids directly *exc* O come all amazed

'Ih, sama siapa?' gitu lo.
exc with who thus *dp*
When [I] arrived the kids straight away (said) 'Huh? Obe's come?' They were all astonished. 'Oh! Who with?'

In the following the speaker reports an exchange between herself and another person:

(21) Trus diajak, 'Ngel. Mau nggak bantuin gue?' gitu. Bantuin dia
then asked Ng want not help me thus help him

gitu untuk nari. 'Buat siapa?' 'Buat ini ni, penyanyi. Penyanyi
thus to dance for who for this this singer singer

lagi beken.' 'Lagunya apa ?' 'Lagunya "Selamat Malam."'
present well.known song-*nya* what song-*nya* S M
Then [I] was asked, 'Ngel. Will you help me?' (He asked me) to help him with the dancing. 'Who for?' 'For this singer, this well-known singer.' 'What's the song?' 'It's *Selamat Malam.*'

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[3] The assistant who translated the passage initially made this incorrect interpretation.

3.1.5 Use of the listener's name

In conversations the addition of the listener's name to an utterance is a common intimacy device which helps reinforce social links. At the same time, by indicating who is being addressed, it ties the utterance to its particular setting. In each of the following examples the final name is that of the listener:

(22) Mungkin karna Bule cowok, Rob.
perhaps because B male R
Perhaps it's because Bule's a male, Rob.

(23) Fido kan bisa ngurus diri sendiri, Tes.
F *dp* can look.after [himself] T
Fido can look after himself, Tes.

The use of the listener's name may precede rather than follow what is to be conveyed:

(24) Oke, gini Angel. Ada satu yang kayaknya tu membuat
OK like.this A be one which like-*nya* that make
gua jadi bertanya-tanya.
me be ask-ask
Right now, Angel. there's one thing that's got me wondering.

Serving a rather similar function is the use of the title or name of a social superior, which is used to show respect:

(25) Saya mo coba, Pak.
I want try sir
I'm going to try, sir.

3.2 Discourse particles

CJI has a large number of words which provide comment of various kinds on what is being said. These words, usually called discourse particles or discourse markers, are very frequent in informal speech and are an essential component of CJI discourse. They all have a range of functions but usually they express in some way the speaker's attitude to what is being said. Significantly, they also form a link between the speaker and listener, functioning as intimacy signals or sharing devices, reinforcing the social links between speaker and listener.

The particles are all short, usually of one syllable. None of them forms part of the grammar of the structures to which they are attached; they lie outside the information structure, offering comment on it. The meaning of discourse particles is frequently elusive, with subtle shades of meaning often notoriously difficult to pin down, let alone translate. It is often extremely difficult to provide an English equivalent which catches the illocutionary force or nuance of meaning in a particular context. Intonation and tone of voice often contribute greatly to the meaning of the particles and these also are impossible to convey in writing. The following statements then are necessarily general, aiming to describe approximately the major functions of the particles. In the translations of most examples in this work only a rough guide to the meaning of the particles is provided and frequently no attempt is made to translate them.

Few of these particles occur in FI. In the impersonal genres of formal speech and writing the intimacy between interlocuters which they evoke has little place. As the particles are almost entirely characteristic of informal speech and very rarely occur in FI there are no H equivalents.

3.2.1 *deh*

This occurs with statements as an emphatic particle urging the listener to believe what is being said: 'I'm telling you; that's certainly the case':

(26) Nggak tau deh.
not know *dp*
I don't know, I tell you.

(27) Gua udah bilang ama elu berkali-kali, deh.
I already say to you repeatedly *dp*
I've told you (about it) repeatedly, haven't I.

It frequently follows adjective predicates, emphasising the quality:

(28) Lagi gua SMA tuh Inggris gua tu jelek. Jelek deh.
present I *SMA* that English my that bad bad *dp*
When I was in senior high school my English was dreadful. It was just dreadful.

(29) Pasti gendut deh anaknya.
certain fat *dp* child-his
His kids are sure fat.

In an imperative structure *deh* strongly urges the listener to do something: 'why don't you; do it!', or, with a negative, 'don't do it!':

(30) A: Elu belum nonton, yah?
you not.yet watch *dp*

B: Belum.
not.yet

A: Nonton deh!
watch *dp*

A: Haven't you seen it yet?

B: Not yet.

A: Then go and see it!

(31) Jangan pacaran lama-lama deh!
don't dating very.long *dp*
Don't have a long-term relationship!

3.2.2 *dong*

This occurs in statements to give strong emphasis, with a suggestion that the listener should already know that what is said is the case:

(32) A: Itu kira-kira berapa rupiah? Sekitar dua puluh delapan ribu,
that about how.many rupiah about [28,000]
mungkin, yah?
perhaps *dp*

B: Lebih dong!
more *dp*

A: That's about how many rupiah? About 28,000, perhaps?

B: Oh, more than that!

(33) A: Maksudnya diiket pita merah jadi aneh.
meaning-*nya* tied ribbon red be strange

B: Loh, enggak dong! Ijo, merah, biasalah!
dp not *dp* green red usual-*lah*
I mean, if it's tied with red ribbon it looks strange.
What! Oh, no! Green and red are the usual colours.

It occurs in imperatives, making them more emphatic. Here too there is a suggestion that the listener should know this is what to do or believe:

(34) Kencengan dikit dong!
louder little *dp*
Speak a bit louder!

(35) Eh, jangan manggil 'Om', dong!
exc don't call uncle *dp*
Hey, don't call me 'Uncle!'

Although *dong* usually follows the statement or command it is also sometimes inserted within the proposition:

(36) Jadi enggak mungkin dong kalo dia bilang uda tiga taon
so not possible *dp* if he say already three year
enggak make.
not use
So it's impossible you see if he says he hasn't been using it for three years.

(37) Kalo mau lewat-lewat bilang dong 'misi'.
if want pass.by say *dp* permission
When you're going to pass someone say 'excuse me'.

3.2.3 *kan*

This particle is extremely common in informal discourse.[4] In fact, it is the most frequently used of all discourse markers, occurring more than 300 times in some texts.

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[4] This particle is discussed by Wouk (1998), making it one of the few discourse particles in CJI that has been considered in detail. This discussion draws on Wouk, although detailed discussion of particular instances is not possible here. All examples are from the corpus.

The functions of *kan* can be characterised as essentially solidarity-building activities, particularly in requesting agreement and marking shared knowledge.[5]

Kan is frequently used to request agreement with what is said or to request verification. In this function it is usually associated with a rising intonation, although this may be very slight. With this function it often occurs as a tag, similar to 'right?', 'isn't it?' and so on in English, turning what would otherwise be a statement into a question. The more formal equivalent *bukan* occasionally occurs [RG 4.9]. In the following example both are used:

(38) A: Abdul Latief udah duda, kan?
A L already widower *dp*

B: Masih ada istrinya, bukan?
still be wife-*nya* not

A: A L is a widower, isn't he?

B: He still has a wife, doesn't he?

It can be used to seek confirmation for what the speaker assumes is correct:

(39) Nggak ada tes, kan?
not be test *dp*
We don't have a test, do we?

(40) Apalagi lu uda bisa bahasa Perancis, kan?
what's.more you already can language French *dp*
What's more, you can speak French, can't you?

(41) A: Ada temen gua anak UKM[6]..
be friend my kid

B: Iya. si Obe, kan?
yes *dim* O *dp*

A: I have a friend in the Students' Activity Club.

B: I know. Obe, isn't it?

Although in this function it usually occurs at the end of the utterance it can also occur within it:

(42) Ngerti kan maksud gue?
understand *dp* purpose my
You understand, don't you, what I mean?

Kan can be used to remind the listeners of a piece of shared knowledge, being similar to English 'you know'. In this function it most frequently occurs within the statement, rather than following it:

(43) Gajinya dosen kan lumayan!
salary-*nya* lecturer *dp* quite.good
A lecturer's salary is pretty good, you know!

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5 Wouk (1998:379).

6 UKM : *Unit Kegiatan Mahasiswa* 'students' activity unit'

(44) Lu tes psikologi kan, nggak bisa mikir kalo lagi sakit.
you test psychology *dp* not can think if present sick
If you're doing a psychology test, you know, you can't think if you're sick.

(45) Kalo di kantor melulu kan bisa mati bosen.
if in office just *dp* can dead bored
If you're just in the office all the time, you know, you can die of boredom.

Sometimes the speaker is neither seeking confirmation nor sharing knowledge. The knowledge may be new to the listener but the listener is drawn in as if already familiar with what is stated. This both emphasises the statement and acts to create an atmosphere of social solidarity and intimacy. In English 'you know' can be used in this way, even though the speaker is aware the listener does not know; 'you see' is also a reasonable translation:

(46) Tanya sama dia dong! Gua kan nggak deket sama Ida.
ask to her *dp* I *dp* not close to I
Ask *her* (not me)! I'm not close to Ida, you know.

(47) A: Elu jarang ketemu ama Yanti?
you rarely meet with Y

B: Jarang. Dia kan di lantai bawa, gua di lantai atas.
rarely she *dp* on floor lower I on floor above

A: Don't you meet Yanti often?

B: Not often. She's on the lower floor, you see, and I'm on the upper floor.

In any of the functions mentioned it is common for *kan* to occur twice in the one clause:

(48) Kan orang nggak tau kan?
dp person not know *dp*
But no one knows, right?

(49) Trus gua kan lagi jalan-jalan sama si Fido, kan, liat
then I *dp* present walking with *dim* F *dp* look.at

taneman-taneman, gitu.
plants thus
So I was was walking about with Fido, you see, looking at the plants.

(50) Dia kan bokapnya kerja di *embassy* Amerika, iya kan?
she *dp* father-her work in A *dp* *dp*
You see, her father works in the American embassy, right?

When *kan* occurs with such repetition it may be taking on different shades of meaning in each occurrence and it is doubtful if precise meanings can be assigned to each instance. In the following it occurs three times, apparently acting to both emphasise and seek agreement:

(51) Kan ada kan temennya Mimi yang uda *married*, kan?
dp be *dp* friend-*nya* M who already *dp*
Mimi does have friends who are already married, doesn't she?

3.2.4 *kek*

Although written with a final <k> this is apparently always pronounced as a glottal stop, never as *k*. It indicates that either of two possibilities is acceptable: 'you could do this or you could do that; either this or that could be the case'. There is usually the suggestion that the speaker has no particular interest in which of the possibilities is correct or occurs:

(52) Mo nasinya mo pera kek, mo yang pulen kek,
want rice-*nya* want dry *dp* want which well.cooked *dp*

pake panci .. aluminium.
use pan aluminium
Whether you want dryish rice or well-cooked rice (it doesn't matter), use an aluminium saucepan.

(53) Elu mau *married* sama siapa, orang Indonesia kek, orang
you want with who person I *dp* person

asing kek, yang penting elu seneng, gitu.
foreign *dp* what important you happy thus
Whoever you get married to, whether it's an Indonesian or a foreigner, the important thing is that you're happy.

Where only one possibility is mentioned the implication is 'that or something else'. This is also the case if *apa kek* is used:

(54) Mau nakal kek, gua nggak peduli.
want naughty *dp* I not care
Whether you want to misbehave or whatever, I don't care.

(55) Dia mo minta maaf kek, dia mo apa kek, saya nggak
he want [apologise] *dp* he want what *dp* I not

perduli sama dia.
care about him
Whether he wants to say sorry or whatever he wants to do, I couldn't care less about him.

More than two possibilities may be referred to:

(56) Setiap kampus bisa aja menganggap dirinya kampus reformasi.
each campus can just consider self campus reformation

Mau kampus Atma Jaya, Trisakti, UI kek, apa kek.
want campus A J T *UI* *dp* what *dp*
Every university can regard itself as the campus of reformation. Whether it's Atma Jaya, Trisakti, University of Indonesia, or whatever.

3.2.5 *kok* as a questioning particle

Although the final sound is written <k> this is always pronounced as a glottal stop. Placed before a statement, *kok* changes it to a question and expresses the speaker's surprise that it is correct: 'how could that be? How come?':

(57) Kok pecah yah lampunya?
dp broken *dp* lamp-*nya*
How come the lamp's broken?

(58) Kok lu mau pulang enggak dadain gua sih?
dp you want go.home not say.goodbye me *dp*
How come you go home without saying goodbye to me, eh?

(59) Kok enggak pernah di kantor gitu?
dp not ever in office thus
How is it he's never in the office?

(60) Siapa yah? Kok gua juga jadi lupa namanya?
who *dp* *dp* I also be forget name-her
Oh what's her name? How could I possibly forget her name?

3.2.6 *kok* as an emphasising particle

Following a statement *kok* asserts emphatically that the statement is true: 'I'm telling you; this is so; you know':

(61) Gua nggak mau jadi guru, kok.
I not want be teacher *dp*
I don't want to be a teacher, I tell you.

(62) Gue serius sama dia, kok.
I serious about her *dp*
I'm serious about her, you know.

(63) Kamu kalo visanya abis, kerja gelap aja. Gampang, kok.
you if visa-*nya* finished work illegally just easy *dp*
If your visa's expired just work there illegally. It's easy, you know.

It can occur within the proposition:

(64) Emang! Dia ngaku kok di Femina!
indeed she admit *dp* in F
It's certainly true! She admitted it, I tell you, in (the magazine) *Femina*.

3.2.7 *loh*

This particle derives from Javanese *lho*. It is almost always written <lho> in Indonesian publications, although it was pronounced *loh* or *lo* and occasionally *luh* or *lu* in the recordings. Before a statement it is an expression of surprise at what has been said:

(65) A: Maksudnya diiket pita merah jadi aneh.
meaning-*nya* tied tape red be strange

B: Loh, enggak dong! Ijo, merah, biasalah!
dp not *dp* green red usual-*lah*

A: I mean, if it's tied with red ribbon it looks strange.

B: What! Oh, no! Green and red are the usual colours.

(66) A: Katanya dari Jerman, bukan Perancis. Bacanya jadi
word-their from Germany not France read-*nya* be

Karvu. Bukan Karevu.
K not K

B: Loh, orang-orang pada bilangnya Kerfor.
dp people all say-*nya* K

A: They say its from Germany, not France. It's read as Karvu, not Karevu.

B: What! Everyone pronounces it Kerfor.

Occurring after a word *loh* emphasises it and asserts that it is true:

(67) Tapi lama-lamaan ngajar tuh jenuh loh!
but prolonged teach that bored *dp*
But when you've been teaching for a long time you get fed up with it!

(68) Temen gua Aries banyak loh.
friend my A many *dp*
I've got lots of friends who are Aries.

(69) Bener loh! Katanya dia tu emang *married* sama Abdul Latief.
true *dp* word-their she that indeed to A L
It's true I tell you! They say she really has married A L.

Emphasising a word it can occur within the clause:

(70) A: Tapi gua males sekolah.
but I lazy study

B: Ih, gua seneng loh sekolah!
exc I happy *dp* study

A: But I'm not interested in studying.

B: Ah! I *love* studying!

(71) Banyak loh cerita-cerita dia.
many *dp* stories his
He's got lots and lots of stories.

The combination *gitu loh* is a particularly common means of emphasising a statement. In one conversation *loh* was used 107 times, of which 91 instances were of *gitu loh*, while in one interview *loh* occurred 117 times, of which 113 instances were of *gitu loh*. *Gitu loh* is discussed in §3.3.2.

3.2.8 *mah*

This is not a commonly used particle, although it is frequent enough to be mentioned. It acts to mildly stress or emphasise a word or statement:

(72) Bikin jadwal mah gampang.
make schedule *dp* easy
It's easy to make a schedule.

(73) Gua mah nggak mau. Nyokap gue: 'Pokoknya harus!'
I *dp* not want mother my thing.is must
I myself don't want to. But my mother (said) 'The thing is, you have to!'

(74) Kalo diitung-itung mah harganya elu mau beli *handphone*
if calculated *dp* price-*nya* you want buy mobile.phone

mah langsung aja beli *handphone*, ya.
dp directly just buy mobile.phone *dp*
If you've calculated the price and you want to buy the mobile phone, well then just buy it.

3.2.9 *masa*

This expresses surprise that what follows is or might be true, 'I don't believe it, it's impossible':

(75) Masa nggak inget ama saya?
dp not remember just me
How could you not remember me?

(76) Masa loh nggak tau?
dp *dp* not know
How could you not know?

Masa frequently occurs alone, or just with other discourse particles, to express the speaker's astonishment at what has just been said:

(77) Masa sih, Tes? (Expressing surprise at what Tes has just stated.)
dp *dp* T
How could that be, Tes?

(78) A: Bener loh! Katanya dia tu emang *married* sama Abdul Latief.
true *dp* word-their she that indeed to A L

B: Masa! Gosip lagi loh!
dp gossip again *dp*

A: It's true! They say she really has married A L.

B: Unbelievable! Just more gossip!

3.2.10 *nah*

This occurs before a statement with meanings similar to 'well, now then, so' in English. It can introduce a new topic:

(79) Nah, sekarang gua nanya, kenapa lu putus sama Yopi?
dp now I ask why you break with Y
Now I want to ask, why did you break up with Yopi?

(80) Itu pengalaman gua nari di Hyatt. Nah, trus gua juga
that experience my dance in H *dp* then I also

punya pengalaman lagi waktu taun baruan di Musro.
have experience more time year new in M
That's my experience dancing at the Hyatt. Well now, I had another experience at New Year at Musro.

It need not introduce a new topic. It can occur during the continuation of a topic to draw the listener's attention:

(81) Dari pagi gua nemenin dia ke mana-mana. Nah,
from morning I accompany her to everywhere *dp*

malemnya gua pulang.
night-*nya* I go.home
From the morning I accompanied her everywhere. Well then, at night I went home.

(82) A: Kalo cewek elu sendiri?
if girl you self

B: Nah itu dia yang mau gua omongin.
dp that she who want I discuss

A: What about your own girl friend?

B: Well, she's the one I want to talk about.

(83) Definisinya luas sekali. Nah, maksud gue ..
definition-*nya* broad very *dp* meaning my
The definition is very broad. Now, what I mean is ..

3.2.11 *nih* and *tuh*

In addition to their other functions these can follow verbs to give emphasis and can therefore be regarded as emphatic particles in such contexts. The full demonstratives *ini* 'this' and *itu* 'that' cannot function in this way. They are discussed in §2.15.

3.2.12 *sih*

Sih, often pronounced *si*, has a range of subtle meanings. Although it is frequently used in CJI it is difficult to pin down its function in particular contexts and writers give conflicting statements on what it means. In general its function is that of a softener or 'smoother', contributing to the smooth flow of the conversation.

In questions, as a softener it makes the question less abrupt. There is often also a suggestion that the speaker has a reduced interest in the question; this also adds to the softening effect. A somewhat similar effect in English might be achieved with 'then':

(84) Lo ama Bowo uda berapa lama, sih?
you with B already how long *dp*
How long have you been going out with Bowo then?

(85) Tau dari mana, sih?
know from where *dp*
Where did you hear that then?

(86) Oh La La mahal nggak sih?
O L L expensive not *dp*
Is Oh La La (a restaurant) expensive or not, then?

In statements also it acts as a softener, as 'you know' might in English, adding a smoothness to the statement, which might otherwise sound somewhat abrupt:

(87) Kita panggilnya si Batak. Ya emang dia Batak, sih.
we call-*nya* *dim* B *dp* indeed he B *dp*
We call him The Batak and in fact he is a Batak, you know.

(88) Kayak sepupu gua sih! Sepupu gua juga sembilan taon.
like cousin my *dp* cousin my also nine year
That's like my cousin, you know. My cousin was also (engaged for) nine years.

Following a subject it can mean 'as for':

(89) A: Minumnya yang enak apa?
drink-*nya* which tasty what

B: Ah, gua sih minum *orange juice*, *ice capuccino*.
exc I *dp* drink

A: What do you like to drink?

B: (As for me) I drink orange juice and iced cappuccino.

(90) Ya Betty sih bilang, dia bilang gini ..
dp B *dp* say she say like.this
Well, (as for) Betty, she said this ..

The difficulty in covering the meaning of *sih* in all occurrences with the term 'softener' can be seen by the following exchange, in which it seems to emphasise the preceding word rather than soften it:

(91) A: Pacarku yang dulu Libra.
girlfriend-my which previous L

B: Siapa pacar lu?
who girlfriend your

A: Yang dulu. Inget nggak? Yang dulu? Libra.
which previous remember not which previous L

B: Siapa sih pacarnya yang dulu?
who *dp* girlfriend-*nya* which previous

A: My previous girlfriend was a Libra.

B: Who was your girlfriend?

A: The previous one. Don't you remember? She was a Libra.

B: But who *was* your previous girl friend?

Sometimes a speaker will use *sih* repeatedly:

(92) Yah, kesan pertama gua sih, ngeliat dia sih, centil banget
dp impression first my *dp* see her *dp* flirt very

sih nih cewek nih.
dp this girl this
Well, my first impression on seeing her was she was a real flirt, this girl.

3.2.13 *ya ~ yah*

Ya and *iya* both mean 'yes'. *Ya*, sometimes pronounced with an extended *a* or as *yah*, and on rare occasions pronounced *ye*, is also used as a discourse marker in a number of positions and has a considerable range of meanings. The following is a guide to some of its major functions.

It can follow a statement, turning it into a question and acting as a tag, meaning 'isn't it?' and so on. The speaker believes the statement to be true and that the listener agrees; *ya* acts to confirm the listener's agreement:

(93) *Sea food*? Ya, semua orang suka *sea food*, ya?
dp all people like *dp*
Seafood? Well, everyone loves seafood, don't they?

(94) Turun di stasiun kereta api Gambir, yah?
get.off at station [train] G *dp*
You get off at Gambir station, don't you?

(95) Menejemen *trainee* juga nggak terlalu jelek banget, yah?
management also not too bad very *dp*
A management traineeship isn't too bad either, is it?

Often it turns a statement into a question, meaning 'Do you; is that so?' or simply 'eh?', acting more as a softener than anything else:

(96) Gua denger lu uda punya cewek, ya?
I hear you already have girlfriend *dp*
I hear you've got a girlfriend, eh (is that so)?

(97) Mungkin mereka sekarang lebih sante kali, ya?
perhaps they now more relaxed perhaps *dp*
Perhaps they're more relaxed now, do you think?

When *ya* turns a statement into a question it may not be seeking agreement. The speaker may have been provided with new information; in this case the speaker may be indicating that the information is new but is not disputed. In the first example below B does not know that tuna salad is tasty and is indicating this, at the same time asking A to confirm what he has said:

(98) A: *Tuna salad*nya enak banget.
-nya delicious very

B: Enak, yah?
delicious *dp*

A: Tuna salad is really delicions.

B: Delicious, is it?

(99) A: Aku lagi ngerekam.
I present record

B: Lagi ngerekam, ya?
present record *dp*

A: I'm recording.

B: Recording, eh?

It may be used in combination with a question word as a stalling device, while the speaker seeks the correct words:

(100) Nyokap-bokap gue emang orangnya .. gimana yah?
mother-father my indeed person-*nya* how *dp*
My parents are .. oh, *how* would I describe them?

(101) Ada satu .. apa ya istilahnya?
be one what *dp* term-*nya*
There's a .. now what's the word for it?

It may be used as an intimacy device when new information is given, drawing in the listeners by making them feel as if they share knowledge of what is being conveyed:

(102) Ini suatu hal yang lucu, ya.
this one matter which funny *dp*
This (which I'm about to tell you) is something funny, right?

(103) Waktu itu gua masih jadi guru, ya.
time that I still be teacher *dp*
At that time I was still a teacher, right?

It can be used with apologies, acting as a softener and indicating a hope that the listener will consent:

(104) Maaf, ya.
sorry *dp*
Sorry, eh.

(105) Nggak papa, yah?
not anything *dp*
That's OK, isn't it?/It's not a problem, is it?

In imperatives it acts as a softener so that the order isn't felt to be a strong command. This is reinforced by a rising intonation on *ya*; the suggestion of a question rather than an order aids the softening effect:

(106) Tapi jangan ngeluarin lidah, ya?
but don't put.out tongue *dp*
But don't poke your tongue out, will you?

(107) Tolong dibawain mas, ya.
help taken lad *dp*
Take this away, please. (To a waiter in a restaurant.)

3.2.14 *yuk*

This urges the listener to do something together with the speaker. It is similar in meaning to the FI exhortation *ayo* 'come on; let's go'. It usually occurs after the proposition:

(108) Makan bareng, yuk.
eat together *dp*
Let's eat together.

(109) Kita ke Pancoran lagi yuk. Enak juga makan di Pancoran.
we to P again *dp* good also eat in P
Let's go to Pancoran again. It's great eating at Pancoran.

It can also occur before the statement or within it:

(110) Yuk kita berenang!
dp we swim
Let's go swimming!

(111) Makan yuk, bersama.
eat *dp* together
Come on, let's eat together!

It can occur alone if the context makes clear what is meant:

(112) A: Gua pengen minta minum.
I want request drink

B: Yuk!
dp

A: I need something to drink.

B: Come on then (let's get something)!

It can occur a number of times in the same utterance for emphasis:

(113) Yuk kita foto yuk rame-rame, yuk!
dp we photo *dp* together *dp*
Come on! Let's have our photos taken together!

(114) Buka usaha yuk di Bali, yuk!
open business *dp* in B *dp*
Let's open a business in Bali together!

In the following, in combination with *jangan* 'don't', it means 'let's not':

(115) Ya udah yuk jangan pulang ke Atma.
dp already *dp* don't return to A
Alright then, let's not go back to Atma.

3.2.15 Combinations of particles

The difficulties in precisely translating particles or even defining their meanings in various contexts are referred to numerous times above. The difficulty is increased in the

numerous cases in which several particles co-occur. Many of these combinations reveal the rather fluid meanings of the particles, combinations sometimes even appearing to give contradictory emphasis or colouring. Little attempt is given here to describe the meanings of particles in combination in addition to the descriptions above.

(116) Kok ketawa sih?
dp laugh *dp*
How come you're laughing then?

(117) Pegel kan loh.
stiff *dp* *dp*
What! Stiff and sore are you?

(118) Loh kok dia cuma segitu?
dp *dp* he just like.that
Well, how is it he's just like that?

(119) Sebenernya anak kecil semua kan suka yah yang namanya
actually kid little all *dp* like *dp* which name-*nya*
video games itu.
that
Well, actually, all kids love playing video games, don't they.

The combination of discourse particles and *gitu* is discussed in §3.3.2.

3.3 Other pragmatic characteristics of CJI speech

Besides discourse particles there are other words and phrases which have pragmatic functions but are nevertheless somewhat different from the particles. A number of the important ones are discussed in this section. In various ways they all act as sharing devices or intimacy signals, reinforcing the social bonds between speaker and listener. Some also occur in combinations which have propositional rather than pragmatic meaning; these derivatives are also discussed here.

3.3.1 *tau enggak?* and *ngerti enggak?*

The use of *tau enggak?* 'you know (or not)?' and *ngerti enggak?* 'you understand (or not)?' are ways of drawing in the listener by seeking confirmation. The speaker is rarely asking a genuine question to see if the listener understands, although the listener is likely to respond with an indication of attention. The effect is very similar to that of *ya* at the end of a statement (see §3.2.13):

(120) Kalo kamu tidak begitu, kamu tuh sekarang udah kaya raya,
if you not thus you that now already [very rich]
tau enggak?
know not
If you weren't like that you'd be really wealthy now, you know?

(121) pokoknya dalam pikiran Sandy, *nobody perfect*, ngerti enggak?
thing.is in thoughts S understand not
Well, the thing is, to my thinking no one's perfect, you understand?

These can also precede the statement, although this is not common. In the following example *tau nggak* co-occurs with a number of discourse particles:

(122) Trus pantat kok sakit, yah? Tau nggak sih gua dudukin apa?
then bum *dp* sick *dp* know not *dp* I sit.on what

Batu kali, gede banget.
stone river big very
Why did my bum feel so sore? Do you know what I was sitting on?
A river stone; a big one.

3.3.2 *gitu*, *gini* and derivatives

In FI *begitu* 'like that' and *begini* 'like this' are adverbs of manner. In CJI they also occur but are usually shortened to *gitu* and *gini* respectively. In (123) both *begini* and *gitu* occur:

(123) Nggak bisa gitu, dong, mestinya begini.
not can like.that *dp* must-*nya* like.this
You can't do it like that. It must be like this.

(124) Jadi batangnya tuh dilingkarin gini; diiket pake pita merah.
so stem-*nya* that wrapped like.this tied use ribbon red
So the stem is wrapped like this; tied with red ribbon.

These shortened forms are very commonly used in CJI as pragmatic devices similar to discourse particles. This is particularly true of *gitu*, which occurred 464 times in one interview alone. It usually occurs at the end of an intonation unit, affirming that what has been said is true. It literally means 'like that', but has the strength of 'you see; that's how it is; I tell you':

(125) Pokoknya aku berusaha berteman ama dia, gitu.
thing.is I try be.friend with him thus
The thing is I tried to be friends with him, you see.

(126) Jadi kalo sore mamiku suka dateng, gitu.
so if evening mum-my like come thus
So in the evenings my mother used to come, you see.

Because it so frequently occurs at the end of an intonation unit it also acts to mark the end of such a unit. It can, however, occur within a unit:

(127) Baru berapa minggu gitu di Amerika ..
just several week thus in A
I'd only been in America a few weeks ..

(128) Apa sih yang begitu elu sukai gitu dalam dunia tari?
what *dp* which thus you like thus in world dance
What is it that you so like in the world of dance?

Gitu is frequently followed by *loh ~ lo* for emphasis (see §3.2.7). In fact this is one of the most commonly occurring combinations of particles in CJI. In one youth conversation *gitu loh* occurred 91 times, while in an interview a 47-year-old woman used it 104 times. Its frequency drops greatly in more formal contexts; in one of the meetings it occurred just three times:

(129) Mamiku mau aku dibawa ke Surabaya, gitu loh.
mum-my want I taken to S thus *dp*
My mother wanted me to be brought to Surabaya, you see/that's how it was.

(130) Aku sebenernya nggak begitu, gitu loh.
I actually not thus thus *dp*
Actually I'm not like that, you know.

(131) Tiap kali saya sendiri merasa bersalah, gitu lo.
each time I self feel guilty thus *dp*
Each time I felt guilty myself, you know.

Gitu loh can also be inserted into a unit of speech, such as a clause, rather than following it:

(132) Gua nggak tau gitu loh tampangnya kayak apa.
I not know thus *dp* appearance-his like what
I don't know, I tell you, what he looks like.

Following a quotation *gitu* (*loh*) asserts that that is what was said:

(133) Gua bilang, 'Gua uda punya anak, gua bakal milih
I say I already have child I will choose

profesi gua *teacher*' gitu loh.
profession my thus *dp*
I said, '(When) I've had children, I'll choose teaching as my profession', I said.

It can also be followed by discourse particles such as *deh* to indicate a strong assertion and *kan* meaning 'that's so, isn't it; that's how it is':

(134) Itu bakal bener-bener membuat gua 'Aduh, kapan yah
that will really make me *exc* when *dp*

bisa gua pacarin?' gitu deh.
can I date thus *dp*
That would really make me (think) 'Oh, when can I date her?'
(and I assert that is true).

(135) Gua tau ngerokok tuh nggak bagus sebenernya buat kesehatan.
I know smoke that not good actually for health

Kata dokter, gitu kan?
say doctor thus *dp*
I know that smoking isn't good for your health. That's what the doctors say,
isn't it?

Gitu also occurs frequently in a number of other combinations, particularly *udah gitu* 'after that' (FI *sesudah itu*), which links two events in temporal sequence, as in the first

example below, or, more frequently, non-temporal sequence, with meanings such as 'what's more', as in the next two:

(136) 'Na, ntar gue telfon lagi deh!' kata dia gitu. Ya udah,
dp soon I telephone again *dp* word his thus *dp* already

gue tunggu. Eh, udah gitu dia nggak nelfon gue!
I wait *exc* after thus he not telephone me
'I'll call you again soon,' he said. OK then, I waited. But after that he didn't telephone me!

(137) Filmnya? Bilang aja, apa ya. James Bond dia lengkap.
film-his say just what *dp* J B his complete

Udah gitu film-film perang.
after that films war
His movies? Just mention it, he's got it. He has all the James Bonds. Also war movies.

(138) A: Gua tu tau dia ke mana, tapi gua mo bilang gimana?
I that know she to where but I want say how

B: Uda gitu yang tau cuma elu doang lagi?
after that who know only you just more

A: I knew where she'd gone but how could I tell anyone?

B: What's more, you were the only one who knew, right?

The combination *trus udah gitu* 'then after that' is also frequently used to link two propositions in sequence (see also §3.3.4). The sequence is usually not one of time but rather just a linking of two related thoughts, often having the sense of 'what's more' or 'so then':

(139) Lu kalo buka kafe, lu cuman berfikir bagaimana caranya elu
you if open cafe you only think how way-*nya* you

market-in kafe lu. Trus uda gitu gimana caranya banyak
cafe your then after thus how way-*nya* many

customer dateng.
come
If you run a cafe, you only have to think about how to market it, and then what's more you also have to think about how to get lots of customers to come.

(140) Gua dulu gendut kan? Trus uda gitu kan gua dulu pake
I before fat *dp* then after that *dp* I before wear

baju nggak *matching*.
clothes not
I used to be fat, right? What's more, I used to wear clothes that didn't match.

While *gitu* refers to something that has gone ahead, *gini* refers to something following. *Gini*, like *begini*, can introduce a proposition, meaning 'this is how it is' or 'now I want to turn to this topic':

(141) Oke, gini Angel. Ada satu yang kayaknya tu membuat
OK like.this A be one which like that make

gua jadi bertanya-tanya.
I become ask
OK now Angel. There is something that I have been wanting to ask.

It can precede a quote, indicating 'the following is what was said':

(142) Trus gua nanya gini, 'Janice ngantuk yah?' Trus dia gini, 'Heh?'
then I ask like.this J sleepy *dp* then she like.this *exc*
Then I asked, 'Are you tired, Janice?' Then she was like, 'Huh?'

It can be followed by a physical demonstration rather than words:

(143) .. trus tiba-tiba dia gini: 'plek'!
then suddenly she like.this
Then suddenly she went like this: 'plop'! (demonstrating how a child fell asleep)

With this function it can be reduplicated to indicate repeated or continued action:

(144) Jangan gini-gini aja dong!
don't like.this.like.this just *dp*
Don't just keep doing this! (nodding his head)

Gini can be followed by *loh* for emphasis:

(145) Maksud gua gini loh, ..
meaning my like.this *dp*
What I mean is, ..

Gini and *gitu* can occur together, *gini* before and *gitu* after a statement:

(146) Ya dia bilang gini, 'Ya, kalo gua sih, gua liatlah,' gitu loh.
dp she say like.this *dp* if I *dp* I see-*lah* thus *dp*
Well, this is what she said, 'Well, as for me, I'll think about it first', that's what she said.

Gitu and *gini* frequently occur in the combinations *kayak gitu* 'like that' and *kayak gini* 'like this', in which they correspond to *itu* 'that' and *ini* 'this'. These are discussed in §2.35).

From *gitu* is derived the transitive verb *gituin* 'to do that (to someone); to treat (someone) like that', which is quite frequent in the corpus. It usually occurs in the passive:

(147) Satu angkatan ada lima orang digituin.
one class be five people treated.thus
In one class five people were treated like that.

(148) Elu pernah digituin sama cewek, nggak?
you ever treated.thus by girl not
Have you been treated like that by a girl, or not?

It can also occur after a quote to mean 'That's what I said':

(149) 'Saya sih nggak keberatan,' gue gituin aja.
I *dp* not objection I like.that just
'I don't have any objection', that's all I said.

Another derivative of *gitu* is *gituan*, meaning 'that sort of thing, stuff like that'. It can be reduplicated for emphasis:

(150) Gua nggak percaya gituan.
I not believe that.stuff
I don't believe that sort of thing.

(151) Kalo gua sih, pribadi gua tuh bosen ngeliat yang gitu-gituan.
if I *dp* personally I that bored see what that.stuff
As for me, personally I'm bored with seeing that sort of thing.

3.3.3 *kayaknya*

This word, also pronounced *kayanya*, *kayenya* and *keyenya* in rapid speech, is based on *kayak* 'like' (see §2.35) and is common in the conversations of younger speakers. Sometimes, like *kayak* alone, it can be a stalling device, meaning 'sort of, like, you know', giving a tone of vagueness to the statement or question:

(152) Apa sih yang begitu elu sukai gitu dalam dunia tari?
what *dp* which thus you like thus in world dance

Kayaknya kok lu suka banget, kayaknya cinta mampus, gitu lo.
like *dp* you like very like [love to death] thus *dp*
What is it that you like in the world of dance? Like, that you really love; you know, love to death?

(153) Pokoknya kayaknya buat gua tuh nari nomor satulah.
thing.is like for me that dance number one-*lah*
The thing is, like, for me dancing is number one.

Frequently it acts as a comment on what follows and can variously be translated as 'I think, I mean, I suppose, it looks like, it's as if, it seems', depending on the context:

(154) Kayaknya kolnya kurang nih.
like cabbage-*nya* lack this
I don't think there's enough cabbage in this.

(155) A: Kenapa elu nggak ngambil S1 psikologi waktu itu?
why you not take *S1* psychology time that

B: Kan sakit tipes. Kayaknya gua udah bilang sama
dp sick typhus like I already say to

elu berkali-kali, deh!
you repeatedly *dp*

A: Why didn't you take undergraduate psychology then?

B: I had typhus, remember? I mean, I've told you lots of times before, you know!

(156) Kayaknya sejak jamannya Spice Girls sudah mulai .. ngetop di
like since time-*nya* S G already begin tops in

Indonesia nih, kayaknya banyak banget kalo cewe-cewek tuh
I this like many very if girl that

yang udah mulai pake bajunya tuh makin lama makin brani.
who already begin wear clothes-*nya* that more long more daring
It seems since the time the Spice Girls began to be tops in Indonesia, it seems a great many girls have begun to wear clothes which are getting more and more daring.

3.3.4 *terus* and *lalu*

In FI and CJI *terus* means 'straight; straight away, immediately; to continue, keep on (doing something)'. In CJI, in which it is usually pronounced *trus*, it also has the meaning 'then, next'.[7]

In this meaning *trus* is very common in narratives, serving to link a sequence of events. *Trus* always occurs at the beginning of an intonation unit. In the following extract it occurred repeatedly (9 times in 81 words) as a young practice teacher told of an experience in class. (While the passage is broken up into sentences here, *trus* actually links a string of clauses into separate intonation units without clear sentence boundaries. This is discussed in §4.0):

(157) .. Trus dia gini, eh trus tiba-tiba dia gini: 'plek'. Di
then she like.this *exc* then suddenly she like in

depan gua! Mulutnya nganga 'Aah!' Trus gua nanya gini,
front me mouth-her open *exc* then I ask like.this

'Janice ngantuk yah?' Trus dia gini, 'heh?' Eh, bener!
J tired *dp* then she like.this *exc* *exc* true

Pas udah itu, eh, akhirnya dia ampe gini-gini, 'duk!'
then after that *exc* finally she until like.this

Trus dia ke sebelah gitu, maksudnya ampe oleng gitu.
then she to side thus meaning-*nya* until sway thus

Trus gua kan ketawa, pas lagi cerita, trus gua tiba-tiba
then I *dp* laugh [while] telling.story then I suddenly

ketawa. Trus ya murid-murid yang lain gitu tau gua ketawain
laugh then *dp* pupils which other thus know I laugh.at

siapa. Trus dia liat, dia ngeliat ke ini kan, sebelahnya gitu, ..
who then she look she look to this *dp* side-*nya* thus
Then she went like this (demonstrating the way a child in class listened to her), then suddenly she was like this (demonstrating the way the child fell asleep) – 'plop!' In front of me! With her mouth open (demonstrating the way the child opened her mouth while asleep) – ''Aaah!'. Then I asked 'Are you sleepy, Janice?' Then she was like 'Huh?' Yeah, truly. Then after that she's like 'klonk!' (describing the way the child fell onto her friend's shoulder). Then

---

[7] This meaning is not given in *KBBI*.

she slumped to the side; I mean she was swaying. Then I laughed, while I was telling them a story. And of course the other pupils knew who I was laughing at. Then she looked to the side ..

The events or situations linked by *terus* need not be in a temporal relation. It may simply link related concepts, having the sense of 'what's more, furthermore, as well':

(158) .. dengan rambut panjang yang tergerai, terus anggun, .. tinggilah,
with hair long which loose then elegant tall-*lah*

terus proporsional, .. terus pake bajunya ya, anggunlah.
then in.proportion then wear clothes-*nya* *dp* elegant-*lah*
.. with long hair hanging loose as well as being elegant .. tall and in good proportion .. furthermore, dressed elegantly.

Trus is often followed by *udah gitu* (see §3.3.2).

Lalu can mean 'to pass, pass by'. It also occurs with the meaning 'then, after that'. It occurs with this meaning in both FI and CJI. Among younger speakers *lalu* is very rare in the corpus. It is fairly common among older speakers. One woman used it 57 times in this meaning (while using *trus* 90 times). In this example it links thoughts without a temporal relationship:

(159) Ayah saya itu juga .. tukang loak yah bilangnya yah, yang
father my that also [junk collector] *dp* say-*nya* *dp* who

di pinggir jalan itu yah. Lalu dia punya anak dua belas.
at side road that *dp* then he have child [12]

Lalu eh .. setiap anak itu diajar untuk mandiri.
then *exc* each child that taught to be.independent
My father was a junk collector, you could say, picking up rubbish at the road side. Well, he had twelve children. Each child was taught to be independent.

4 *Texts and translations*

4.0 Introduction

In this part a number of texts are presented, along with word-for-word and free translations. In each case only the first quarter or so of the full text is given. This allows examples of a variety of speakers to be provided. This is particularly important for CJI where, as discussed in §1.6, there is so much variation from speaker to speaker.

The texts selected comprise four interviews and two conversations. The number of conversations chosen is restricted because such discourses are particularly difficult to transcribe and translate. Relaxed conversation between friends is typically filled with interruptions and interjections, exclamations, overlapping (two people speaking at once), and short turns often consisting of only a few words. Conversation can appear disjointed as speakers flip from one topic to another. This type of text is of more limited use for pedagogical purposes than interviews where one person speaks for extended periods.[1] There is often also more context-bound background understanding between speakers, making much of what is said obscure to the outsider, as does the rambling, discursive nature of genuine conversation among friends, where there is no particular agenda. Even in interviews much cultural knowledge is assumed. Two examples of conversations are nevertheless chosen as representative illustrations of this genre of real language use in Jakarta. At the beginning of each text brief information is given on the context of the recording, the speakers and the nature of the discourse. Further information is given in Appendix A.

Transcription conventions include the following:

(i) When two people speak at the same time the beginning of the overlap is marked by a left-side square bracket, as in (ii) below. A right-side square bracket may also be used to show the end of the overlap where this is appropriate.

(ii) If a speaker's turn ends abruptly, as when cut off by another speaker, this is shown by three dots:

A: Nggak [kayak …
B: [Eh, Valentine pertama kalian ngapain nih ceritanya?
A: Not like …

[1] While study and description of such phenomena is of interest to some students of discourse analysis this is not the aim of the present work, which is in part to offer teachers and students of Indonesian interesting and informative samples of real language use.

(iii) A colon indicates lengthening or prolongation of a sound:

Mreka tu narinya bagu:s banget.
they that dance-*nya* beautiful very
Their dancing is really, really beautiful

In the above example the final vowel of *bagus* 'good, beautiful' is lengthened for emphasis. Lengthening of vowels and some consonants may also be for other reasons, such as a stalling device while the speaker thinks what to say.

(iv) A pause is indicated by two dots.[2] (In examples in Chapters 2 and 3 two dots indicate where something is omitted because it is not relevant to the point being illustrated.)

(v) Where a speaker suddenly turns from one topic to another or suddenly self-corrects, this is indicated by a dash:

Mamiku pengen – karna nenek udah nggak ada kan?
My mother wanted – because my grandmother was no longer there, right?

(vi) Where the speaker cuts off in the middle of a word this is indicated by a hyphen at the end of the part of the word uttered, as with *sat-*, the beginning of *satu* 'one':

Apakah karena lo terlihat sat- di dalam satu-dua demo lo jadi aktivis?
Because you are seen in one or two demos does that make you an activist?

In the above example the speaker begins to say *satu* 'one', stops in the middle of the word, and corrects herself.

(vii) Where there is laughter or an aside to others listening this is indicated within square brackets.

(viii) Where a speaker mispronounces a word or uses a word which is clearly not what is intended the word is written as pronounced and the correct form is given in a footnote.

(ix) Jakarta Malay or non-standard words are sometimes identified in footnotes, although this is not consistently done.

(x) If a word or series of words cannot be heard clearly (for instance, because of background noise or laughter, or if spoken too softly) the place of the words in the text is marked [unclear] or [indistinct].

(xi) Where one person speaks for a long time paragraphs are used to break up the monologue into sections. However, these breaks rarely have any grammatical function.

Spelling conventions employed here include the following. Word-final glottal stop is indicated by the letter <k> where this occurs in the standard orthography, because *k* in this position is pronounced as glottal stop by many speakers, even in formal speech. Thus [anaʔ] 'child' is written <anak>. Glottal stop is not indicated where it occurs intervocalically according to regular rules (and is not indicated in standard writing). Thus [səʔoraŋ] 'a person' is written <seorang>. If, however, a glottal stop occurs where it is not standard it is indicated by an apostrophe. Thus [bisaʔ] 'can' is written <bisa'> (where the

[2] It is common in discourse studies for the length of a pause to be indicated (in fractions of a second). Such detail is not relevant to this study and only pauses of longer than about two seconds are shown.

standard pronounciation is [bisa] and the standard spelling is <bisa>). This last convention differs from that in Chapters 2 and 3, where word-final glottal stop is not indicated where it does not correspond to *k* in FI.

The mid-central vowel schwa [ə] is usually omitted if not pronounced, although in the standard orthography it is represented. Thus the pronunciation [stəŋa] 'half' is spelled <stenga>, while the standard spelling is <setengah>. Final or medial *h* is not indicated if not heard. Absence of *h* where it appears in standard orthography is very common in speech, in words like *ruma* 'house' (standard spelling <rumah>) and *bawa* 'beneath' (standard spelling <bawah>). On the other hand, *h* is often added to certain words in conversation where it is not recognised in FI and such instances are indicated, such as *gituh* 'thus' (standard (*be*)*gitu*).

There are a few words in the texts spelled with <ps>, such as <psikologi> 'psychology', which are pronounced with an initial *s*. In the transcriptions the <ps> is retained.

It is difficult to indicate 'ums and ahs' accurately since these are often phonetically different from regular sounds (phonemes) in the language, and there is likely to be some inconsistency in representing such sounds. Usually they are rendered <aa> or <ee>. A colon indicates extra length: <ee:>. A shorter indicator of agreement is sometimes indicated <eh>. Equally difficult are indicators of understanding or agreement, usually written <he'e>, <he-eh> and the like by Indonesians, often pronounced [ʔaʔaʔ] and similar, and corresponding to 'uh-huh' in English. Here again there is some inconsistency in the transcriptions. Speakers also often acknowledge that they are listening with a nasal, generally indicated <mm> or <hmm>. These signals are not indicated where they are uttered while the other person is speaking.

In unplanned, spontaneous speech people rarely speak in complete sentences.[3] In discourse analysis the intonation unit is usually recognised as the basic unit of speech. This can be defined as 'a stretch of speech uttered under a single coherent intonation contour'. Any attempt to render spontaneous speech into full grammatical sentences meets a number of problems and is usually not possible where the intention is to represent the speech as accurately as possible. A speaker may produce a long string of intonation units without a sentence-final intonation; breaking such stretches up into sentences in transcriptions requires arbitrary decisions as to sentence breaks and inevitably leads to some 'sentences' without actual sentence structure.

It is common in studies of spoken language for each intonation unit in a transcription to be placed on a separate line. For the purposes of this study this is unnecessary; instead intonation units are separated by a double slash. As far as possible, however, conventional punctuation marks are given as well. In particular, fullstops are used to mark sentence-final intonation. The free translations do not always attempt to follow the Indonesian intonation units and tend to be in grammatical sentences.

Conventions for word-for-word glosses are given in §2.0. Several further points need to be made here. No gloss is provided for 'ums' and 'ahs' and the like. When a speaker cuts off in the middle of a word, mentioned in (vi) above, no gloss is provided. When a speaker mispronounces a word, mentioned in (viii) above, and it is clear what the intended word is, the gloss reflects the intended word, otherwise no gloss is given.

---

[3] Students of spoken discourse generally agree with Svartvik (1980:167) when he refers to the sentence as 'a unit that is of doubtful value in the description of casual speech.'

4.1 Conversation [03]

Three speakers:

A: Digy, 27, male, student
B: Cynthia, 24, female, student
C: Yuli, 23, female, recorder
D: male, lecturer (passing by)

The recording was made on 28 February 2000 in an outside area at Atma Jaya University, Jakarta. There is sometimes a considerable degree of background noise, mainly from other students.

The three participants were close friends and the conversation is very relaxed, drifting from topic to topic, although in the early stages the recorder shifts conversation to a new topic several times. Often it is very context-bound, depending for understanding on the participants' common knowledge of events. There is a great deal of laughter and banter which is difficult to translate.

B: Satu topik. // Mm:
one topic

C: Digy hari ini abis ngapain, Dig?
D day this finish what D

A: Gue?
me

C: Iya.
yes

A: Gua kan abis ngeliat skolah.
I *dp* finish see school

C: Yang kencengan dikit dong!
which louder a.little *dp*

A: Abis ngeliat sekolah.
finish see school

B: Liat dari luarnya doang. [all laughing]
see from outside-*nya* just

A: Wu .. // juga bisa begitu.
also can thus

B: Ngeliatin [orang lewat.
observe person pass.by

A: [Lo tau toh, // kan jadwalnya diundur.
you know *exc* *dp* timetable-*nya* put.back

C: Ah.

A: Tadinya mestinya tanggal dua pulu lapan …
previously should.have.been date [28]

C: Ah.

A: Ternyata mereka mau UB,[4] // yang kelas tiga. // Kelas satu, kelas
evidently they want which class three class one klass

duanya rekoleksi,[5] // baru bisa tanggal dua pulu satu. // Maret.
two-*nya* retreat just can date [21] March

// Nah, // sekalian gua mo ini // konfirmasi jadwal. // Soalnya
exc at.same.time I want this confirmation timetable thing.is

jadwalnya banyak yang ngaco. // kemaren. // Kemaren ini gua nggak
timetable-*nya* much which mess yesterday yesterday this I not

tau nyatetnya gimana, // gua cek lagi tadi, // Senen sam- //
know note-*nya* how I check again just.now Monday

Sene- hari Senen sama Rabunya tuh udah nggak tahu. //
[Monday] and Wednesday-*nya* that already not know

Ada satu yang *skip*. // Gua nggak ngerti gue.
be one which I not understand I

C: Kerasan dikit dong! // Takutnya ntar nggak masuk suaranya.
louder a.little *dp* fear-*nya* soon not enter voice-*nya*

A: Ini keras. // ini sensitif lagi.
this loud this sensitive also

B: Iye. // Pake 'be'?[6]
yes with b

A: Iya. // 'zet'.[7]
yes z

B: 'Zet'. // [Zenzitib]. [laughing]
z

C: [Sensitif] pake 'be' gimana?
sensitive with b how

A: Ya, [zenzitib].
yes

B: [Zenzitib]. [A and B laughing]

A: Dua ribu ...
two thousand

---

4 *UB*: *ulangan bersama,* an examination.

5 *rekoleksi* 'reflection'. Here: a kind of retreat.

6 The letter <b> (pronounced *be*), referring to his pronunciation of the last sound in *sensitif*.

7 The letter <z> (pronounced *zet*). A and B now play with the pronunciation of the word, which confuses C.

B: Begitu dong // bahasa anak [FKIP[8] Indonesia. [all laughing]
thus *dp* language kid

A: [Bahasa millenium.
language millenium

B: Bahasa millenium.

A: FKIP millenium. // *New* millenium.

C: Ngomong-ngomong ini, // ada pita merah, ungu, ijo, // apaan
talking.about this be ribbon red purple green what

artinya sih? // Merah kan *AIDS*.
meaning-*nya* *dp* red *dp* AIDS

B: Merah *AIDS*.
red AIDS

C: Ungu ama ijo apaan?
purple and green what

B: Oh, // disinyalir ini anti kekerasan.
exc indicated this against violence

C: Bukannya putih yang *against violence*?
not-*nya* white which

B: Yang pertama kali ungu keluar.
which first perhaps purple come.out

C: O ya?
oh yes

B: Ungu, // trus ijo ini ramah lingkungan. // Ee:
purple then green this friendly environment

C: Ooh.
exc

A: Ala, kayak Toyota aja lu, // ramah lingkungan.
exc like T just you friendly environment

B: A, diem lu! // Jelek! [all laughing]
exc quiet you bad

C: Kalo biru itu *against drugs.*
if blue that

B: Oh yah?
oh yes

C: Ya.
yes

---

[8] *FKIP* (pronounced *efkip*): *Fakultas Keguruan dan Imu Pendidikan,* 'Faculty of Teacher Education'.

B: Wah, di rumah mesti ada biru. [laughing]
exc in house must be blue

C: Anti, anti narkoba.
anti anti narcotics

B: Kuning ada nggak kuning?
yellow be not yellow

C: Anti Golkar. [all laughing and cheering]

A: Yang *biohazard*-nya mana yah?
which *-nya* which *dp*

B: *Biohazard*?

A: He'e. // Oh gitu! // Aah! // ngeledek![9] [laughing]
uh-huh oh thus *exc* tease

C: Apaan tu *hazard*?
what that

B: Ha? *Biohazard*, kan // ada apa? // Lambang itu yang ...
exc *dp* be what symbol that which

A: Aa: kalo: // radioaktif kan yang tau kan lo lambangnya?
exc if radioactive *dp* which know *dp* you symbol-its

C: Oh.

A: Na, // kalo [*biohazard* tu] // bahaya biologis.
dp if that danger biological

B: [Kayak kipas]
like fan

C: Oh.

A: Apa tu namanya tuh?
what that name-its that

B: Virus.

A: Virus.

B: Virus-virus tingkat pat. // Wo:, // *Bio-safety level four*.
viruses level four *exc*

A: *Bio-safety level four.*

B: Kebetulan hobinya sama. // [all laughing, continuing through the following banter]
by.chance hobby-*nya* same

Gitu loh Jeng.[10] // Ini Jeng Digy.
thus *dp* J this J D

---

9 (*nge*)*lédék*: (Jakarta Malay) 'to tease, make fun of'.

10 *Jeng*: Javanese term of address to a younger sister.

A: Sejak kapan gua ikut arisan[11] sama lu?
since when I join with you

B: Arisan panci. [laughter]
saucepan

A: Pancinya atu[12] juta.
pan-*nya* one million

C: Panci apaan?
pan what

A: Iya, dulu' // 'Mo beli panci, Bu'?' // 'Brapa tuh?' // 'Satu set
yes previously want buy pan ma'am how.much that one set

satu juta'.'
one million

C: Panci apaan?
pan what

A: Panci'!
saucepans

B: Masak.
cooking

A: Panci masak!
pan cooking

C: Yang: …
which

A: Satu set.
one set

B: Itu kali yang …
that perhaps which

C: Tim, gitu?[13]
soft.rice thus

A: He'eh. // Satu set tapi. // Ada yang kecil, // ada yang gede' .. //
uh-huh one set but be which little be which big

Sejuta'! // Mendingan gua beli kompor gas! [all laughing]
one.million rather I buy stove gas

C: Dapet satu ye?
get one *dp*

---

[11] *arisan*: a mutual-support activity which involves a kind of lottery at regular meetings among neighbourhood housewives.

[12] *atu*, meaning *satu* 'one'. Stevens (2004) gives *atu* as a Jakartan variant of *satu* (see §2.2 on loss of initial *s*).

[13] Presumably she meant to say *Untuk tim* 'For (cooking) soft rice'.

A: Dapet satu'! // Panci doang diliatin.
get one pan just looked.at

C: Tapi kan kalo lu tidak menggunakan panci yang tepat, //
but *dp* if you not use pan which correct

masakannya jadi nggak enak rasanya.
cooking-*nya* become not good taste-its

A: Iya sih.
yes *dp*

B: Ya masak itu kan tergantung *feeling*. // Ee:
yes cook that *dp* depend

A: Tapi emang loh, // kalo misalnya lo masak nasi goreng //
but indeed *dp* if for.example you cook rice fry

pake panci aluminium, // hasilnya apa?
use pan aluminium result-*nya* what

C: Gosong.
burnt

A: Lengket! // [Iya!]
stick yes

B: [Iya!]
yes

C: Eh, tapi ngga juga, // tergantung nasinya!
exc but not also depends.on rice-*nya*

A: Gue brapa kali gitu, // pake na-, // pak- apa? – // mo nasinya
I several times thus use what want rice-*nya*

mo pera kek, // mo yang pulen kek, // pake: panci: apa
want dried *dp* want which well.cooked *dp* use pan what

namanya tuh, // tadi gua bilang?
name-its that just.now I say

C: Sore Pak. [Talking to a passing lecturer]
afternoon sir

A: Alumunium?

B: Alumunium.

C: Apa kabar?
[how are you]

A: Pak Suarif. [whispering]
Mr S

D: [Inaudible].

C: Saya lagi ngumpulin data.
I present collect data

D: Untuk?
for

C: Saya kan kerja di Atma Jaya.
I *dp* work at A J

D: Sekarang?
now

C: Di ini, // di LBA.[14] // Bikin ini .. // *book*!
at this at make this

D: Oh.

C: Jadi disuruh riset dulu.
so told research first

D: Pantesan tadi lagi itu yah, // pake ilustrasi segala?
no.wonder just.now present that *dp* use illustration and.so.on

C: Tadi Bapak ke atas?
just.now sir to above

D: Iya, ke atas! // Yang [inaudible] segala itu?
yes to above which all that

C: Nggak, // bukan. // Itu mereka lagi: .. // apa, // prak-, praktek ngajar.
no no that they present what practice teach

D: Yuk!
dp

C: Da.
'bye

B: Ngajar di LBA? [laughing]
teach in

A: Oh, praktek ngajar di LBA juga? [laughing]
exc practice teach in also

B: Tapi biar, biar lengket, // kalo masak nasi goreng – // kayaknya,
but although although stick if cook rice fry like-*nya*

kayak kuis masak ni ceritanya.
like quiz cook this story-*nya*

A: Ha'ah.
uh-huh

B: Tapi kan udahannya kan gampang bersihinnya. // Tinggal direbus
but *dp* then *dp* easy clean-*nya* remain boiled

---

[14] *LBA: Lembaga Bahasa Universitas Atma Jaya,* 'Atma Jaya University Language Institute'.

aja ama aer. // Nanti ngelepas sendiri.
just with water soon come.off self

C: Tetep aja lu mesti masak air lagi. // Pake panci kan?
precise just you must cook water again use pan *dp*

B: [Iya, // itu] di wajannya!
yes that in wok-*nya*

A: [Nasinya?] Nasinya lu kemanain?
rice-*nya* rice-*nya* you do.what.with

B: Ya kan uda ditempatin dulu, // kan sisanya masi lengket. //
dp *dp* already placed first *dp* remains-*nya* still stick

Kan taro aer, // lu rebus lagi.
dp put water you boil again

A: [Maksud gue … //
purpose my

B: [Nanti kan lepas.
soon *dp* come.loose

A: nasi gorengnya itu jadi lengket!
rice fry-*nya* that become stick

B: Ya jangan dilengketin!
dp don't made.stick

A: Yee: // kagak ngerti ni orang [laughing]. // Maksud gue //
exc not understand this person purpose my

itu – // Elo pernah nggak sih makan nasi goreng lengket? //
that you ever not *dp* eat rice fry stick

Sama bumbu-bumbunya itu?
with seasoning-*nya* that

B: Ya sapa suru dilengketin?
dp who order made.stick

A: Hm!
exc

B: Makanya jangan masak pake panci aluminium! [laughter]
no.wonder don't cook use pan aluminium

A: Ya gilah!
dp mad

C: Suruh Cynthia masak dulu kali.
tell C cook first perhaps

B: [laughing] Masalahnya gua paling nggak bakat masak nasi goreng.
problem-*nya* I most not talented cook rice fry

// [laughing] Pasti ada unsur yang terlupa, // [ntah itu]
certain be element which forgotten whether that

A: [Apa itu?]
what that

B: garam, // entah itu saos, // entah itu bawangnya, …
salt whether that sauce whether that onion-*nya*

A: Ato lu lupa …
or you forget

C: Karena .. // ter- itu, // terlalu banyak bumbu?
because that too much spices

B: [Inaudible] yang laen yang lebih rumit aja // lebih gampang
which other which more complicated just more easy

gua bilang [inaudible] nasi goreng.
I say rice fry

A: Ya, lu lup- // kadang-kadang lu lupa nasinya loh. [all laughing].
dp you sometimes you forget rice-*nya* *dp*

C: Nasinya lu makan telor goreng.
rice-*nya* you eat egg fry

A: Wa-ha! [all laughing]
exc

B: Aa, itu dia! // Enak itu.
exc that it tasty that

A: Duu:
exc

C: [inaudible] *Valentine* pertama kalian ngapain nih ceritanya?
Valentine first you.two do.what this story-*nya*

B: [Daa:
exc

A: [Cyn, Valentine kita ke mana sih?
C V we to where *dp*

B: Di sini!
at here

A: Oh ya, di sini. [all laughing]
oh yes at here

B: Ya di sini, // nggak, nggak ke mana-mana.
yes at here not not to anywhere

A: Iya, di sini ya.
yes at here *dp*

C: Ngapain? // Ngapain?
do.what do.what

B: Ngobrol.
talk

A: Ngobrol aja.
talk just

B: Kan sebelumnya uda beberapa hari nggak ketemu yah?
dp before.that already several day not meet *dp*

B: [Jadi kita nggak pergi-pergi]
so we not go.anywhere

A: [Orang tiap hari tiap hari] *Valentine* kok. Ye: [all laughing]
person each day each day V *dp* *exc*

C: Yaa: // Yang baru jadi! // Aa:, panas dong! [all laughing]
exc who new become *exc* hot *dp*

B: O'-ow
exc

C: Gua *Valentine* ngapain yah? // Yang pasti gua lagi sakit gigi', //
I V do.what *dp* what certain I still sick tooth

karna gua baru abis operasi // gigi bungsu'.
because I just finish operation [wisdom tooth]

A: Kenapa? // gigi lu?
why tooth your

C: Aah .. dicabut, // biasa, // gigi bungsu itu kan kalo nggak
exc pulled.out usual [wisdom tooth] that *dp* if not

dicabut // masalah.
pulled.out problem

A: Oh. // Tumpang [tindih?
exc [overlap]

B: [Bisa demamlah, // apalah.
can fever-*lah* whatever

C: Iya, bisa bikin demam, // trus yang gua tau sih, // dia bakal
yes can make fever then what I know *dp* it will

bikin migren seumur hidup.
make migraine [rest of life]

A: [Iya]
yes

B: [Iya] juga sih.
yes also *dp*

C: Karana urat syaraf lu dijepit kan, // dari sini kan nyambung.
because [nerve] your pinched *dp* from here *dp* connect

A: A'a.
exc

C: Sakit memang. // Dan kalo di gue, // gua merasa rahang gua
sore indeed and if at I I feel jaw my

tu jadi keyenya keras banget, // untuk ngomong tuh susah //
that become like-*nya* hard very to talk that difficult

Sering ngadu, krek, krek, krek.
often grate creak creak creak

B: Udah numbuh semua, belum?
already emerge all not.yet

C: Udah.
already

B: Udah?
already

C: Yang dicabut sih baru satu'. // Masih ada empat lagi.
which pulled.out *dp* just one still be four more

B: Jadi …
so

A: Huh?
exc

B: Kok empat? // Tiga maksudnya? // Gigi [bungsu kan [inaudible] empat kan?
dp four three meaning-*nya* [wisdom tooth] *dp* four *dp*

C: [O ya, masih ada tiga.
exc yes still be three

B: Jadi total gigi lo semuanya [ada] brapa?
so total tooth your all-*nya* be how.many

A: [*Ma'am*] [to someone passing]

C: Nggak tau.
not know

A: [*Miss Busy*]

B: [Hah nggak] tau? // Lu nga ngitungin?
exc not know you not count

C: Ngapain juga gua kayak ngitungin gigi satu-satu coba?
what.for also I like count tooth one-one please

A: Lagi dia rajin dia.
further she diligent she

B: Gua cuma – // gua punya cuman dua pulu enam.
I only I have only [26]

C: Eh, kalo *standard* manusia ada brapa?
exc if human be how.many

B: Tiga dua.
three two

C: Elu, // berarti gigi lu nggak *standard*?
you mean tooth your not

B: Enggak. // Soalnya gua dulu kan gingsul semua taringnya
no thing.is I previously *dp* stick.out all canine-*nya*

A: Ni, ni .. *standard version* ini.
this this this

B: Diem lu! // Jelek lu. [all laughing]
quiet you bad you

A: Jahat! // ve ve es.[15] // *Very very standard.*
evil v v s

B: Dulu kan taring .. taring itu kan // semua munculnya gingsul, //
previous *dp* canine canine that *dp* all appear-*nya* stick.out

pat-empatnya. // Jadi itu kan yang: …
all.four so that *dp* which

C: cabut.
pulled.out

B: cabut semua. // Jadi udah kurang empat kan, // uda minus
pulled.out all so already lack four *dp* already minus

empat. // Trus udah gitu, // aa .. karna bany- banyak dicabut, //
four then already thus because many pulled.out

jadi aa .. kan // tempatnya banyak untuk .. gigi-gigi itu kan, //
so *dp* place-*nya* much for teeth that *dp*

di gusinya. // Pake kawat segala'. // Udah gitu sampe
in gums-*nya* use wire everything already thus until

sekarang gua masih menunggu ini, // gigi bungsu gua kapan
now I still wait.for this [wisdom tooth] my when

ya numbuhnya? // Praktek kan …
dp emerge-*nya* practical *dp*

C: Belom keluar?
not.yet emerge

---

[15] Pronouncing the initials <v v s>.

B: Ha? // Ternyata udah. // Soalnya masih banyak sisa *space*-nya
exc apparent already thing.is still much remains *-nya*

di belakang. // Jadi emang renggang semua. // [laughing]
at back so indeed wide.apart all

Cuman dua pulu enam. [laughing]
only [26]

C: Tapi kan enak?
but *dp* comfortable

B: Iya, // jadi nggak usah ini lagi.
yes so no need this more

C: Iya! Nggak lagi.
yes not more

B: Makanya gua tanya teraher sama dokter gigi gua kan, // 'Tante,
no.wonder I ask last.time to [dentist] my *dp* aunt

gimana? // Ee gigi bungsu saya uda tumbuh belum?' //
how [wisdom tooth] my already emerge not.yet

'Oh, udah! Udah semua kok!' // 'Hah? Kapan numbuhnya?' [laughing]
exc already already all *dp* *exc* when emerge-*nya*

C: Naa // Itu dia, // karna lo masih ada *space*, // jadi tumbuhnya
dp that him because you still have so emerge-*nya*

sempurna. // Kalo gue kan masih banyak, // yang dari kecil nggak
perfect if I *dp* still many which from little not

pernah apa-apa gitu. // Ahernya numbuhnya tu yang ngerusak gigilah.
ever anything thus finally emerge-*nya* that which damage tooth-*lah*

B: Numbuhnya ke arah pipi yah?
emerge-*nya* to direction cheek *dp*

C: Sakit.
painful

B: Ke arah pipi [ya? // Keluar?]
to direction cheek *dp* emerge

C: [Nggak // dia num-] .. // ini kan ini gigi gue, .. //
no it this *dp* this tooth my

dia numbuhnya rada-rada menekan gigi yang di depan.
it emerge-*nya* somewhat push tooth which in front

B: [Ooh ya
exc *dp*

C: [Dan nongolnya tu cuma seupil gitu.
and protrude-*nya* that only a.little thus

A: Masih anaknya.
still child-*nya*

C: Hm'm.
uh-huh

B: Kalo ini?
if this

A: Apa?
what

B: Uda ganti gigi palsu?
already replace tooth false

C: Kadang-kadang begitu dicabut // besar loh! // Gila cum- //
sometimes no.sooner pulled.out big *dp* crazy

segede gini.
as.big.as thus

A: Akarnya! // Akarnya kan yang gede. // [Akarnya.]
root-*nya* root-*nya* *dp* which big root-*nya*

C: [Ampe] dipatah tiga.
to.extent broken three

A: [Buset!]
exc

B: [Iya?]
yes

C: Iya! // Dipatah tiga. // Kan dibelek, // dipatah tiga. // Waa: //
yes broken three *dp* operated.on broken three *exc*

berasa banget. // Krek, krek, krek, // pokoknya yaa: .. Serem!
feel very crack crack crack thing.is *dp* scary

B: [laughing] [sakit. // Maksudnya …
painful purpose-*nya*

A: [Nggak cuman // elut[16] .. // cuman denger aja kan? //
not only you only hear just *dp*

Nggak sakit, // nggak sakit gitu, // [uda dibius] kan?
not painful not painful thus already anaesthetised *dp*

C: [Nggak! // Dibius!] //
no anaesthetised

Ampulnya segede-gede apa. // [all laughing] Udahannya [all laughing] //
ampoule-*nya* as.big.as what then

---

[16] Meaning to say *elu* 'you'.

guling-guling, // nangis-nangis.
roll-roll cry-cry

A,B: [Imitating sound of crying]

C: Uh-huh // Ngilu, // sakit, // bedarah terus sih mulut gueh.
exc sting painful bleed continuous *dp* mouth my

A: Iya, emang.
yes indeed

C: Sampe stenga: .. // stengah .. // seperapat[17] ember kecil itu.
until half half quarter bucket small that

A: [Gila:]
crazy

B: [O ya?] // Bedarah terus?
oh yes bleed continuous

C: Darahnya banyak banget.
blood-*nya* much very

B: Jangan mau rugi', // ditelen lagih! [the other two laughing and groaning]
don't want loss swallowed again

A: Aa:paa:an sih!
what.on.earth *dp*

C: Pait! Pait. // Soalnya kan ada obat, // ada benang, //
bitter bitter thing.is *dp* be medicine be thread

[benang jaitnya] // itu kan ada – warnanya luntur kan.
[stitches-*nya*] that *dp* be colour-*nya* fade *dp*

A: [Benang jait.]
[stitches]

B: Piara kelelawar deh! [laughing]
breed bat *dp*

A: Ogah![18] // Gua – mulut gue dimasukin kelelawar! [all laughing] //
no.way I mouth my entered bat

Gila aja sih.
crazy just *dp*

Conversation [03] translation

B: One topic. Hm.

C: What have you done today, Digy?

A: Me?

---

17 *seperapat* (Javanese): a quarter

18 *ogah*: Jakarta Malay 'to be reluctant, averse to'.

C: Yeah.

A: I've just been observing at school.

C: Speak up a bit.

A: I've been observing at school.[19]

B: He was just watching from outside of the school. [all laughing]

A: I could have done that too, you know!

B: Watching people passing by.

A: Well, you know they've put back the schedule now.

C: Uh-huh.

A: It was previously supposed to be on 28th.

C: Uh-huh.

A: But it turned out that the third graders are going to have an exam while the first and second graders are going to have a retreat. So we can't start our teaching practice there until 21st of March. I went there also to confirm my timetable, because my timetable was a mess yesterday. I don't know how it was written yesterday. I checked it again today. Something's been skipped from Monday's and Wednesday's timetable. I just don't understand.

C: Speak louder, will you. I'm worried your voice wouldn't be recorded.

A: This is loud. This (recorder) is very sensitive.

B: Really? With a 'b'?

A: Yes. With 'z'!

B: 'Z'. You mean '*Zenzitib*'? [laughing]

C: 'Sensitive' with 'b'? What are you talking about?

A: Yes, '*zenzitib*'.

B: *Zenzitib*. [A and B laughing]

A: Two thousand ... [20]

B: That's what teacher education students' language is like. [all laughing]

A: The language of the millennium!

B: The language of the millennium!

A: It's the education students' millennium! It's the new millenium.

---

[19] He is a teacher education student and has just returned from practice teaching. *Liat* here refers to observing during practice teaching but the others make play of it, saying he was watching from outside the school.

[20] The reference is unclear.

C: By the way, you've got these ribbons: red, purple, green, what do they mean? Red stands for AIDS, right?

B: Yes, red means 'AIDS'.

C: But what are purple and green for?

B: Oh, this indicates anti-violence.

C: I thought white was 'against violence'.

B: But purple was probably used first.

C: Really?

B: Yeah, purple. And green means 'environment friendly'.

C: Oh, I see.

A: Oh, come on! You sound like (the) Toyota (advertisement): 'environmentally friendly'.

B: Oh, be quiet, you pain in the neck! [all laughing]

C: Blue stands for 'against drugs'.

B: Really?

C: Yeah.

B: Well, we'll have to have blue at home. [laughing]

C: Yes, it's anti-narcotics.

B: Is there yellow, or not?

C: It's for anti-Golkar.[21] [all laughing]

A: Which one's for biohazard?

B: Biohazard?

A: Uh-huh. Oh, I get it. [A laughing] You're having me on now. [laughing][22]

C: What's it mean, hazard?

B: Eh? Oh Biohazard. Well. what is it? It's the symbol that …

A: Oh, it's radioactivity. You know the symbol for radioactive, don't you?

C: Oh.

A: Well, biohazard means biological danger.

B: (The emblem looks) like a fan.

C: Oh.

A: What's that thing called?

---

[21] Golkar: The political party associated with the former Soeharto government and very unpopular with students.

[22] C, the recorder, later explained that she did not understand the banter between A and B about 'biohazard'.

B: Virus.

A: Virus.

B: Level four viruses. Wha! Bio-safety level four.

A: Bio-safety level four.

B: We have so much in common, fortunately. [all laughing, continuing through the following banter] Do you get me, Miss? This is Miss Digy.

A: Hey, since when have I joined your *arisan*?[23]

B: An *arisan* with saucepans as the prize. [all laughing]

A: Saucepans (costing) one million.

C: What sort of saucepans?

A: Well, once (someone asked her) 'Do you want to buy saucepans, Ma'am?' 'How much are they?' 'One million a set.'

C: What kind of pans?

A: You know, saucepans!

B: For cooking.

A: Pans for cooking.

C: The ones that …

A: One set.

B: Maybe the ones that …

C: For cooking soft rice?

A: Uh-huh, but one set. There are little ones, big ones .. one million! I'd rather buy a gas stove instead! [all laughing]

C: You'd get one (a stove), would you?

A: Right, I'd get one! There's nothing you can do with those pans but look at them.

C: But if you don't use the right sort of pan the cooking won't taste good, will it?

A: Well, no.

B: Well, cooking depends on your feelings, doesn't it.

A: Yes, but if for instance you cook fried rice using an aluminium pan, what will the result be?

C: It gets burnt.

A: It sticks! Right.

B: Right.

---

[23] An activity in which neighbourhood wives raise money to help each other. B has called A 'Miss' and he is pointing out that he does not engage in female activities.

C: But maybe not. It depends on the type of rice.

A: A couple of times I used a ah .. whether I wanted dried rice or well-cooked rice, using a .. what sort of pan was it? What I just mentioned?

C: Afternoon, Sir! [talking to a lecturer passing]

A: Aluminium, wasn't it?

B: Aluminium.

C: How are you?

A: [whispering] It's Mr Suarif.

D: [Inaudible].

C: I'm collecting data.

D: For?

C: I'm working at Atma Jaya now.

D: Now?

C: Here, at the Language Institute. I'm making a book.

D: Oh.

C: I was asked to do some research.

D: So that's what you were doing a while ago. It'll have illustrations and so on?

C: Have you been upstairs?

D: Yes, I have. [inaudible]

C: No, it's not. They're doing practice teaching.[24]

D: See you.

C: Bye!

B: Teaching practice at the Language Institute? [laughing]

A: Oh, so there's practice teaching at the Language Institute too, is there? [all laughing]

B: But, even if it sticks, if you're cooking fried rice – well, now this sounds like a cooking quiz.

A: Uh-huh.

B: But anyway, the thing is it's easy to clean (the pan). All you have to do is boil it in water. (The rice crust) then comes loose itself.

C: But still, you have to boil more water and you'll need (another) pan, right?

B: No, you do it in the wok (that you've used to fry the rice).

---

[24] What D says is too faint to hear, as he walks away. C responds that someone is doing practice teaching, although this is not possible in the university's Language Institute (LBA), causing the others to mock her.

A: And the rice? What do you do with the rice?

B: Well, of course the first thing you do is put the rice in something. It's just the left-over that's stuck to the pan. You pour some water in the pan and boil it.

A: I mean …

B: It will fall off.

A: if (all) the rice sticks to the pan.

B: Well, don't make it stick then!

A: Oh I don't think she gets me. [laughing] What I was trying to say is, have you ever eaten crusty fried rice, with seasoning in it?

B: Well, who told you to make it stick?

A: Humph!

B: No wonder you shouldn't cook fried rice in an aluminum pan! [all laughing]

A: Oh, you're crazy.

C: Well, perhaps you should get Cynthia to cook for you.

B: The problem is I'm not the least talented in cooking fried rice. [laughing] There'll always be something left out, either it's …

A: Like what?

B: the salt, or the sauce, or the onions …

A: Or you forget …

C: Because .. Is it because there're too many spices?

B: Not really. To cook other things that are more complicated is easier I reckon than to cook fried rice.[25]

A: Well, sometimes you forget the rice instead. [all laughing]

C: You eat the rice with a fried egg then![26]

A: Whaa! [all laughing]

B: There you go! That's delicious.

A: [Exclamation]

C: What did you two do on your first Valentine's day?

B: Well …

A: Cyn, where did we go on our first Valentine's?

B: We stayed here!

---

[25] Some words were obscured by sudden shouting in the background. This is what she is assumed to have said.

[26] This is presumably what she meant, although there is no word for 'with'.

A Oh right!, it was right here. [all laughing]

B: Yes, we stayed here. We didn't go anywhere.

A: Right, it was here.

C: What did you do? What did you do?

B: We talked.

A: We just talked.

B: Well, we hadn't seen each other for several days before that, you see.

B: [So we didn't go anywhere.]

A: [Well, every day is Valentine's] day. Yaa:. [all laughing and commenting]

C: Waw .. a new couple! Wow, you're so hot! [all laughing]

B: Oh-oh.

C: What did I do on Valentine's day then? One thing for sure I had a toothache because I'd just had surgery on my wisdom tooth.

A: What was wrong with your tooth?

C: Aah .. it was pulled out. It's usual, you know, if you don't get your wisdom teeth pulled out they'll cause problems.

A: Oh. Was it overlapping?

B: It can cause fever, whatever.

C: Right, it can cause fever, but what I know is, it can cause you migraine for the rest of your life.

A: Right

B: Right. That makes sense.

C: Because it can pinch your nerve. It's connected from here [demonstrating].

A: Right.

C: It sure hurts. And in my case, I felt my jaw became really tight. It was painful to talk. It often creaked .. crack, crack, crack, like that.

B: Have they all emerged yet?

C: Yes, they have.

B: They have?

C: Only one's been pulled out so far. I've still got four left.

B: So …

A: Huh?

B: Not four. You mean three. You have four wisdom teeth, right?

C: Oh right, I've still got three.

B: So, how many teeth have you got now in total?

A: Ma'am [acknowledging a passerby]

C: I don't know.

A: Miss Busy. [referring to the passerby]

B: What, you don't know? Haven't you counted them?

C: What on earth would I count my teeth for, one-by-one, please tell me.

A: She's really diligent. [apparently commenting on the passerby]

B: I've only got twenty six teeth.

C: Well, what's the standard number for a person to have?

B: Thirty two.

C: It means you don't have the standard number of teeth?

B: It's not that. The thing is my canine teeth all used to stick out.

A: This .. this is the standard version.

B: Oh, be quiet you creep! [all laughing]

A: You wicked thing! v v s. Very, very standard.

B: My canine teeth all grew sticking out, all four of them. So, that's what …

C: were pulled out.

B: were all pulled out. So I'm lacking four teeth, you see. I'm minus four. So after that .. because so many were pulled out there was a lot of space for the other teeth in my gums. I wore braces and so on. From then up till now I'm still waiting. When are my wisdom teeth going to grow? Practically …

C: They haven't grown yet?

B: What? Oh, apparently they have. The thing is there's lots of space still left at the back. So they're all widely spaced. [laughing] I've only got twenty six. [laughing]

C: But it's comfortable, isn't it?

B: Right, so I don't have to deal with these things any more.

C: No, you don't have to.

B: That's why the last time I asked my dentist, 'How is it, Ma'am? Have my wisdom teeth come through yet?' 'Yes, they have. All of them!' 'What? When did they come through?' [laughing]

C: Well, that's the thing. Since you've still got space they've grown perfectly. As for me, I've still got lots of teeth. From when I was little I'd never had any problems. Finally (my wisdom tooth) grew and that's what's wrecked my teeth.

B: It grew towards your cheeks, did it?

C: It's painful.

B: Towards your cheeks, did it? Did it poke through?

C: No, it grew .. so these are my teeth right? .. It grew sort of pushing on the tooth in front of it.

B: Oh, I see..

C: And it only protruded a little bit.

A: It was still growing.

C: Right!

B: What about you?

A: What?

B: Have you replaced your teeth with dentures?

C: Sometimes when it's pulled out, it's really big. It's crazy; it's as big as this.

A: It's the root! It's the root that's big. It's the root.

C: It even had to be broken into three pieces.

A: Hell!

B: Really?

C: Yes! It was cut into three pieces. The dentist had to operate to cut the tooth into three. Oh! I could really feel it. crack, crack, crack. It was awful! Ooh! It was scary!

B: [laughing] It was painful. I mean …

A: But you only heard it, didn't you? It didn't hurt, did it?

C: No.

A: It was anaesthetised, right?

C: Right. She used anaesthetic. And the ampoule was as big as anything. [all laughing] So there I was, rolling around and crying like a baby.

A,B: Sob, sob..[Imitating sound of crying]

C: It's true. It was stinging and hurting. And my mouth kept bleeding.

A: Yes, of course.

C: Up to half .. a quarter of a small bucketful (of blood).

A: Thats crazy.

B: Really? It kept on bleeding?

C: There was really lots of blood.

B: You shouldn't lose it. You should swallow it again! [the other two laughing and groaning]

A: What are you talking about? Yuck!

C: It's bitter! It's bitter. The thing is, I'd been given medicine and stitches.

I'd been given stitches. And the dye of the thread was coming out.

A: Stitches.

B: Hey, You should breed bats! [laughing]

A: No way! I'd have bats getting in my mouth! [all laughing] You're crazy.

4.2 Interview [12]

Two speakers:

A: Ferry Indrawang, 23, male, internet reporter, radio announcer and student

B: Yuli, 23, female, interviewer and recorder

The recording was made on 4 July 2000 at Pizza Hut restaurant, next door to the Sarina department store in Jalan Thamrin, Jakarta. There is some background noise but not sufficient to interfere with audibility. The interviewee is from Central Java, having moved to Jakarta four years before the recording was made.

B: Ya'! // Skarang gue ada di Pizza Hut sebelah Sarinah, // skarang
OK! now I be at P H beside S now

di sebela gue ada yang namanya abang Ferry. [laughing] // Jadi
at side my be who name-his brother F so

aa: // oke de, // ini kenalin dirinya dulu aja deh, // siapa,
OK *dp* this introduce self-*nya* first just *dp* who

siapa, siapa dan segala macem tentang lo.
who who and [everything] about you

A: Oke. // Nama gue Ferry. // Gua skarang masih kuliah di Atma Jaya, //
OK name my F I now still lecture at A J

semester: banyak deh. // Malu-maluin kalo sebut. // Trus, // skarang gua
semester many *dp* embarrassed if mention then now I

juga uda kerja'. // Gua kerja di dua tempat. // Di Insight
also already work I work in two place at I I A D

Indo Aryo Darma, // *freelance*, *interviewer* // Tru:s sama di Bisik dot[27] com. //
then same at Bisik.com

Itu Bisik dot com itu suatu *site*, // isinya tentang semua kegiatan
that Bisik.com that a contents-its about all activity

mahasiswa // baik dari seminar, // pelatihan, // trus aa kegiatan
student such as seminar training then activity

[27] Since he pronounces the word *dot* it is reproduced here.

kuliahnya sendiri, // kegiatan kampusnya, // atau – // bahkan sampe ke
class-*nya* self activity campus-*nya* or further as.far to

demo mahasiswa. // Gua di Bisik dot com: // kerjaan gua sih gampang
demo student I at Bisik.com work my *dp* easy

aja. // Gua cuman *reporter*. // Tapi paling nggak gua ngertilah
just I only but most not I understand-*lah*

soal internet. // Gak, nggak goblok-goblok banget soal tehnologi, //
matter not not stupid very matter technology

gua ngerti.
I understand

B: Oke, // gini Fer. // Jadi skarang kita mo ngomonginnya topiknya
OK thus F so now we want talk.about-*nya* topic-*nya*

soal cewek. // Nggak keberatan kan?
matter girl not objection *dp*

A: Kenapa keberatan? // Tergantung cewenya sih. // Kalo cewenya
why objection depends girl-*nya* *dp* if girl-*nya*

berat, // ya gua keberatan. // Kalo cewenya enteng kaya elo sih, //
heavy *dp* I objection if girl-*nya* light like you *dp*

ngga papa, Yul.
[it doesn't matter] Y

B: [laughing] Iya, oke. // Gini Fer. // Aam .. skarang mulei tanya ya? // aa
yes OK like.this F now begin ask *dp*

masalah cewek itu. // Trus skarang mulai dari yang agak – // dari
matter girl that then now begin from which rather from

diri elu dulu deh, // ntar baru kita ke topik yang laen-laen.
self your first *dp* soon just we to topic which other

Aam .. // kalo elo // ngeliat cewek itu menarik atau enggak //
if you see girl that attractive or not

diliat dari mananya sih?
seen from where-*nya* *dp*

A: Buat gua, // cewe yang menarik itu, // pertama dia harus percaya
for me girl who attractive that first she must believe

diri. // *First of all* dia harus punya ko- ee: .. // dia mesti percaya diri, //
self she must have she must believe self

kalo nggak, secantik apa pun, // dia nggak bakalan brani ngeliat
if not [no matter how pretty] she not will dare look.at

orang lain. // Itu yang gua benci dari seorang cewek yang nggak
person other that which I hate of a.person girl who not

brani ngeliat orang lain. // Dan .. dia ngerasa risih kalo diliat
dare look.at person other and she feel uneasy if seen

orang, // padahal dia – // seharusnya dia pede[28] dong karna dia
person whereas she should she *dp* because she

cantik ato punya dada yang bagus ato pantatnya bagus, //
pretty or have breasts which pretty or bum-her pretty

gitu kok. // Gua bakalan sedih aja gitu loh. // Punya orang .. //
thus *dp* I will sad just that *dp* have person

dikasih karunia sebagus itu, // dia masih malu-malu' buat bangga
given gift as.pretty that she still embarrassed to proud

atas dirinya sendiri. // Itu aje:[29].
on self-her self that just

B: [Oke [inaudible]

A: [inaudible]

B: [laughing] Jadi yang penting cewek itu mesti percaya diri ya, //
so what important girl that must believe self *dp*

buat lu, ya? // Aa Ada kat- kategori lain?
for you *dp* be category other

A: Harus pinter.
must smart

B: Kenapa?
why

A: Kalo ngak pinter // ntar ngak nyambung sama gue // karna gua pinter.
if not smart soon not connect with me because I smart

B: [laughing] Pede[30] banget! [laughing] // Oke. // Trus skarang gini, //
very OK then now like.this

kalo menurut elu // cewe-cewe Indonesia itu gimanah?
if according.to you girls I that how

A: Kalo yang gua tau di Jakarta, // karna gua slama mpat taon
if what I know in J because I during four year

teraher tinggal di Jakarta'. // Kayenya makin ee .. enak aja. //
last live in J like more nice just

Makin pinter-pinter deh. // Termasuk pinter cari duit.
more clever *dp* including clever look.for money

---

28 *pede*, p-d being the initials for *percaya diri* 'self-confident'

29 He uses Jakarta Malay *aje* instead of CJI *aja* for humorous effect.

30 See note 28 above.

B: Pinter cari duit, // atau pinter dandan, // atau pinter apah?
clever look.for money or clever dress.up or clever what

A: Pinter dandan, iya. // Yang pinter .. pinter cari duit, // banyak. //
clever dress.up *dp* which clever clever look.for money many

Trus ee [inaudible][31] elu. [both laughing] Trus ee: // pinter yang
then you then clever which

laen, // yang laen dalam hal apa dulu ini?
other which other in matter what first this

B: He'e. // Ya .. ngga tau deh, // banyak. // Elu dong, [laughing] *define*.
exc *dp* not know *dp* many you *dp*

A: Ya, pinter apa dulu? // Lu maunya gua sebutin pinter yang
dp clever what first you want-*nya* I mention clever which

mana ni' // karna gua tau banyak cewek memiliki banyak
which this because I know many girl possess many

kepinteran. // Termasuk kepinteran menipu orangtuanya.
cleverness including cleverness trick parents-their

B: [laughing] Oke, // emang apa bedanya cewe di Jakarta ama
OK indeed what difference-*nya* girl in J with

di Jawa'?
in Java

A: Di: Jawa ya? // Kalo di Jawa, // tergantung Jawanya di mana [laughing].
in Java *dp* if in Java depends Java-*nya* at where

B: Ya, dari tempat asal [lo deh.
dp from place origin you *dp*

A: [Di asal tempat asal gue: .. ee .. // kalo
at origin place origin my if

dipikiran[32] pinter, // rata-rata pinter otaknya ye? // Bener – ee ye. //
thought smart generally smart brain-their *dp* true *dp*

Kalo pinter, // ya pinter gitu loh. // Kalo di sini kan, // kalo dibilang
if smart *dp* smart thus *dp* if at here *dp* if said

pinter, // bisa aja keliatan pinter gara-gara dandannya bagus, // jadi
smart can just look smart because dress-their good so

orang .. ee .. // *fresh, first impression*-nya ba- dia itu bagus. //
person *-nya* she that good

Kesan pertamanya bagus. // Sementara kalo ana-anak di daerah //
impression first-*nya* good while if kids in region

---

[31] Probably saying *salah satunya* 'one of them', although this is unclear.

[32] The word and its meaning are unclear. He is possibly intending to say 'If they are said to be clever ..', as he does shortly after.

mungkin ya keliatannya biasa aja, // tapi punya sesuatu yang
perhaps *dp* look-*nya* ordinary just but have something which

luar biasa di belakang yang biasa, // itu. // Gitu Yul, // ah! //
[extraordinary] at behind which usual that thus Y *exc*

Jangan lama-lama.
don't very.long

B: Ya uda, // oke, skarang lebih spesifik lagi. // Kalo cewe-cewek
dp already OK now more specific further if girls

yang di Atma'?
which at A

A: Cewe-cewe di Atma gua suka' // karna banyak yang cantik, //
girls at A I like because many who pretty

dan gua salah seorang yang .. // ee .. gua itu sangat menghargai karunia
and I [one of those] who I that very appreciate gift

Tuhan dan menikmatinya. // Jadi karna wanita itu diciptakan
God and enjoy-it so because woman that created

Tuhan, // jadi ka- aa karya Tuhan juga, // jadi nggak ada salahnya
God so work God also so not be wrong-*nya*

kalo gua menikmati keindahan yang mereka miliki.// Gitu.
if I enjoy beauty which they possess thus

B: [laughing] Menikmati [laughing], // menikmati apa wapa[33] nih?
enjoy enjoy what this

A: Ya: // menikmati aje[34] // gitu. // Kaya gua ngeliat ada cewek cakep //
exc enjoy just thus like I see be girl pretty

gitu yeh? // Sratus tuju puluh senti, // lima puluh kilogram, // tiga pulu mpat
thus *dp* [170] cm. [50] kg. [34]

be, // pake *tank top*, // pake clana *stretch*, // kan bagus
'b' wear wear pants *dp* beautiful

diliatnya, // meskipun nggak bagus buat iman, gitu kan. // Cuman
to.be.seen-*nya* although not good for morals thus *dp* only

gua suka aja ngeliat deh. [both laughing] // 'Wih, bagus wih!' // Gitu
I like just look *dp* *exc* beautiful *exc* thus

kan? // Nggak ada salahnya, // ada barang bagus nggak
dp not be wrong-*nya* be thing beautiful not

diliatin. // Itu goblok.
looked.at that stupid

---

[33] Meaning to say *apa* 'what?'.

[34] *aje*: using the Jakarta Malay form of *aja*.

B: Iya.
yes

A: Nya itu. // Ada sesuatu yang indah di depan lu, //
exc that be something which beautiful in front you

keindahan Tuhan kan harus dinikmati. // Kayak kayak Tuhan
beauty God *dp* must be.enjoyed like like God

nikmatin ee // nyiptain gunung, sungai. // Kalo kita bisa nikmatin kan
enjoy create mountain river if we can enjoy *dp*

kita menemukan sesuatu yang ee // kita ngargain karunia Tuhan. //
we discover something which we appreciate gift God

Begitu juga dengan ngeliat cewek, gitu luh. // Kalo dia bagus, //
thus also with look.at girl thus *dp* if she beautiful

'Wa, bagus ya?' // Gitu. [laughing]
exc beautiful *dp* thus

B: Ya. .. // Trus gini Fer, // aa: .. kan skarang nih, // keyenya sejak
yes then like.this F *dp* now this like-*nya* since

jamannya Spice Girls sudah mulai, // istilanya ni, ngetop di Indonesia
time-*nya* S G already begin term-*nya* this tops in I

nih, // kayanya banyak banget kalo cewe-cewek tuh yang udah
this like-*nya* many very if girls that who already

mulai pake bajunya tuh // makin lama makin brani. // Itu nggak
begin wear clothes-*nya* that more long more daring that not

tau. // Mungkin karna pengaruh ee // informasi yang smakin:
know maybe because influence information which increasingly

mudah didapat, // atau mungkin juga karena: wabah modernisasi //
easy obtained or perhaps also because epidemic modernisation

atau apapun juga itulah yah, // ee .. menurut lu cewe-cewe
or whatever also that-*lah* *dp* according.to you girls

yang kaya gitu tu, // yang berusaha ngikutin mode kayak gitu
who like thus that which try follow fashion like thus

tuh, // asik nggak sih?
that attractive not *dp*

A: Tergantung asiknya di mana. // Kalo buat kuliah // dia pake
depends attractive-*nya* at where if for lecture she wear

tank top, // trus pake: pake baju-baju yang model teh celup
then wear wear clothes which model [teabag]

gitu. // Tau nggak maksud gua teh celup?
thus know not meaning my [teabag]

B: Teh celup? // Enggak.
[teabag] no

A: Ya, jadi teh celup itu gini. // Kalo dia duduk, // kebuka. [both laughing]
dp so [teabag] that like.this if she sit open

// Tapi kalo dia bediri, bagian depannya ngebuka, // gitu kan? // Yang: //
but if she stand part front-*nya* open thus *dp* which

ya kira-kira baju adinya dipake, // gitu. // Itu gua nggak suka, //
dp probably clothes sister-*nya* worn thus that I not like

karna itu bakal ganggu konsentrasi temen-temennya di kelas. //
because that will annoy concentration friends-her in class

Tapi kalo dia mo jalan pas ke *mall* // ato ke *club*, // *pub*, //
but if she want walk precise to or to

ato lagi: di gunung, // lagi olahraga, // – kok di gunung? – //
or further in mountain more sport *dp* in mountain

lagi la- lari di Senayan gitu yah, // *it's oke*-lah, // lu mo
further run in S thus *dp* *-lah* you want

nunjukin keindahan badan lu, // ya oke-oke aja. // Lu lu
show beauty body your *dp* OK just you you

mon[35] .. *show off* kalo lu seorang: yang ngikutin perkembangan
want if you a.person who follow development

mode:, // ya itu oke, gitu loh. // Cuman kalo kul- lu lagi
fashion *dp* that OK thus *dp* only if you present

kuliah // jangan de, // kasian temen-temen lu gitu. // [laughing]
lecture don't *dp* pity friends your thus

kasian gua juga sih kadang-kadang.
pity me also *dp* sometimes

B: Jadi, // pake model baju apapun terserah // kalo liat waktu dan
so wear type clothes anything up.to.you if look.at time and

tempat, ya?
place *dp*

A: Iya. // Itu mestinya keyek gitu, gitu loh. // Mestinya elu mo
yes that must-*nya* like that that *dp* must-*nya* you want

pake .. // lu mo pake apa kek, // lu mo pake *g-string*
wear you want wear what *dp* you want wear

warna item, // pake celana luarnya putih tipis, // asal
colour black wear pants outside-*nya* white thin provided

---

[35] Meaning to say *mo* 'want to'.

jangan pas kulia sih, // ya nggak papa aja, // gitu loh. //
don't when lecture *dp* *dp* not anything just thus *dp*

Tapi kalo lu pas lagi kuliah kan ee: // ganggu konsentrasi
but if you when present lecture *dp* annoy concentration

orang yang duduk di blakang lo // ato pas lagi ngeliat lo
person who sit at behind you or when present see you

jalan, // gitu kan? // Karna ada sesuatu yang mengganggu, // apa
walk thus *dp* because be something which annoy what

sih segi tiga item di pantatnya, gitu kan? // Nggak bagus
dp [triangle] black at backside-*nya* thus *dp* not good

diliatnya, // itu:.
seen-*nya* that

B: Ya. // Nah kalo ngomong soal // – masih soal baju ini – // kalo
yes *exc* if talk.about matter still matter clothes this if

misalnya ada pesta malem, gitu ya, // menurut lo, // cewek yang
for.example be party night thus *dp* according.to you girl who

bakal lu liat pertama kali, // yang begitu lu liat keyek, 'Waa:h',
will you see first time who thus you see like *exc*

gitu, // itu cewe yang penampilannya sperti apa waktu pesta'
thus that girl who appearance-her like what time party

malem, // gitu yeh?
night thus *dp*

A: Oke, // berarti [inaudible] pes- pesta-pesta resmi, ya?
OK mean parties formal *dp*

B: He'e.
uh-huh

B: Jamuan resmi gitu, // yang [unclear] bikin – bakal ngebikin gua
function official thus which make will make me

terpesona banget // adalah cewek dengan rambut panjang yang tergerai. //
enchanted very be girl with hair long which loose

Trus anggun, // tinggi, yaa: .. // yang .. // ya tinggilah ya. // Trus,
then elegant tall *dp* which *dp* tall-*lah* *dp* further

proporsional aja, gituh. // Trus pake bajunya yaa: .. // anggunlah
proportional just thus then wear clothes-*nya* *dp* elegant-*lah*

ya. // Nggak, nggak terlalu *expose,* // 'Ini lo dada gueh, // yang mo
dp not not too this *dp* breast my which want

tumpah ke mana-mana.' // Itu gua nggak suka // kalo kayak gitu. //
spill to everywhere that I not like if like that

Tapi .. // meskipun: dia punya kelebihan, // tapi kalo dia bisa
but although she have something.special but if she can

menonjolkan tanpa harus terlalu *vulgar*, // itu bakal bener-bener
display without must too that will really

membuat gua .. 'Aduh, // kapan yah bisa gua pacarin?,' // gitu
make me *exc* when *dp* can I date thus

deh. // Kalo: .. kalo yang model-model tumpah-tumpah[36] gitu, //
dp if if which types spill.out thus

ngapain diliat? // Kalo cuman kayak beginian man[37] // di depa- //
what.for looked.at if only like like.that *dp* in front

gua duduk di kantor, // mo cari yang tumpah gini banyak,
I sit in office want look.for which spill.out like.this many

gitu. // Tinggal klik aja. // Dari mana aja kan // banyak yang
thus remain click just from [anywhere] *dp* many which

nyediain model-model tumpah begitu. // Model tumpah. [laughing]
supply types spill.out thus type spill.out

B: Jadi menurut lo, // maksudnya cewek seksi // bukan berarti
so according.to you meaning-*nya* girl sexy not mean

harus menunjukkan segala sesuatu, gitu. // Maksudnya cewe menarik
must show [everything] thus meaning-*nya* girl attractive

juga bukan harus yang, 'Waa:! // Liat, liat nih *body* gue,' //
also not must which *exc* look look this my

kayak gitu ya?
like thus *dp*

A: Oo iya itu. // Gua sangat stuju dengan yang apa yang
exc yes that I very agree with which what which

lu bilang barusan. // Dia seksi tapi nggak harus: ee *show off*, //
you say just.now she sexy but not must

'Ini loh dada gue,' // ato, 'Ini loh paha gue.' // Biasa aja, //
this *dp* breast my or this *dp* thigh my natural just

just be .. // ya, *be yourself*, deh. // Anggunlah, // jadilah wanita yang
dp *dp* elegant-*lah* be-*lah* woman who

anggun. // Jadilah perempuan yang menarik, // maksud dalam artian, //
elegant be-*lah* woman who attractive mean in meaning

tunjukkan bahwa lu tu punya otak, // nggak cuman punya
show that you that have brain not just have

---

[36] *model tumpah*: literally 'pouring out model', meaning a dress which shows cleavage.
[37] Meaning to say *mah* (see §3.2.8).

body. // Gitu:. // Kalo lu cuman ngandelin kebuka-buka gitu mah, //
thus if you only depend.on be.exposed thus *dp*

buat gue sih // udah biasa aja, gitu loh. // Ngeliat di internet
for me *dp* already usual just thus *dp* see on internet

yang kebuka gitu banyak. // Ee kalo gua punya *credit card*, //
which exposed thus many if I have

gua bisa dapet langganan itu *video-live*.
I can get subscription that

B: [laughing] Oke gini, // trus ngomong kalo soal rambut, // kenapa
Ok like.this then talk.about if matter hair why

rambutnya mesti tergerai?
hair-her must be.loose

A: Karna .. hal pada dasarnya gua suka ngeliat cewek, // liat cewek
because matter [basically] I like see girl see girl

yang rambutnya panjang dan terawat, yeh? // Karna lu tau, //
who hair-her long and well.groomed *dp* because you know

kalo dielus dari kepala sampe ke blakang itu // keyeknya
if stroked from head to to back that like-*nya*

enak aja gitu, // daripada cuman sampe leher, // abis sih.
nice just thus rather.than only to neck finish *dp*

B Emang masalah apa kalo cewe rambut pendek? // Atau karna ..
indeed matter what if girl hair short or because

eem .. ini suatu – apa yah – *stereotype* aja kalo cowo tu .. //
this one what *dp* just if boy that

cowo pendek, // cewe rambutnya panjang. // Seharusnya panjang //
boy short girl hair-her long should.be long

karna nunjukin gitu kefemininannya dia // atau apa sih?
because show thus femininity-*nya* her or what *dp*

A: Ya .. // enggak juga sih. // S*ometimes* gua juga tertarik sama
yes not also *dp* I also attracted to

cewe-cewek yang model rambutnya cepak, // abis gitu ya, //
girls who style hair-their short after that *dp*

pendek gitu. // Atau pendek kayak lu gitu. // Gua juga kadang
short thus or short like you thus I also sometimes

suka – // cuman .. gua, // gua tadi mengacu sesuatu .. ke
like only I I just.now refer.to something to

pertanyaan lu // bahwa .. cewek kayak gimana sih // di suatu
question your that girl like how *dp* in a

perjamuan malam yang bakal membuat dia sangat terpesona.[38] //
reception night which will make her very enchanting

Yaa .. // bai- bakal meb- bakal membuat gua sangat terpesona
dp will will make me very enchanted

adalah cewek dengan gaun yang sopan, // anggun, // dan rambutnya
be girl with gown which decent elegant and hair-her

panjang tergerai. // Gituh. // Kalo – // sementara kalo di kesempatan
long flowing thus if while if on occasion

yang laen, // mungkin kalo gua lagi jalan biasa aja, // gua
which other perhaps if I present walk usual just I

bisa terpesona ngeliat cewek yang rambutnya pendek kayak
can enchanted see girl who hair-her short like

elu .. // Trus aa .. orangnya *easy going*, // itu gua .. // mungkin gua
you then person-her that I perhaps I

juga bakal .. terpesona juga, gitu loh. // Kayak gitu: // Jadi
also will enchanted also thus *dp* like that so

nggak harus – // buat gua rambut nggak harus panjang. // Yang
not must for me hair not must long what

jelas .. // apa yang ada di bawah rambut dia itu yang
clear what which be at beneath hair her that which

penting.
important

B: Oo, maksudnya isi otaknya?
exc meaning-*nya* contents brain-her

A: Ha! Iya. Itu untung lu ngerti. [both laughing]
exc yes that fortunately you understand

Interview [12] translation

B: Okay! I'm now in Pizza Hut next to Sarinah and now with me is big brother Ferry [laughing]. Well, why don't you introduce yourself, tell us who you are and everything about yourself.

A: Okay. My name's Ferry. I'm still studying at Atma Jaya University, in semester .. oh, there've been lots of them. It's too embarassing to mention. Well, now I'm also working. I work in two different places. At Insight Indo Aryo Darma, as a part-time interviewer and also at Bisik.com. Bisik.com is a site that reports on university students' activities, such as seminars, training, and their class activities, campus activities and even such things as student demonstrations. My job in

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[38] *terpesona*: meaning to say *mempesona* 'enchanting'.

Bisik.com is really easy. I'm just a reporter there, but at least I understand the internet. I'm not too dumb about technology; I know a few things.

B: Okay. Now Ferry, the topic we're going to discuss is girls. You don't mind, do you?

A: Why would I mind? It depends on the girl. If the girl's heavy, of course I mind.[39] But if the girl's light like you, it's fine by me, Yul.

B: [laughing] Yeah, okay. Now Ferry .. ehm, now I'm going to start asking about girls. Now let's start with something that's rather .. let's start with you first, and later we'll go on to other topics. From your point of view what do you find attractive about a girl and what do you find not attractive?

A: For me, to be attractive, first of all a girl has to have self esteem. First of all, she has to be self-confident; if not, no matter how beautiful she is, she won't have the courage to look at other people. That's what I dislike about a girl who doesn't dare look someone in the eye. And she feels uncomfortable if other people look at her, whereas she should be self-confident because she's pretty or has great boobs or a nice bottom, that's what I meant. I'd feel sad, you know. A person having such a gift but still too shy to be proud about herself. That's all.

B: Okay.

A: [inaudible]

B: [laughing] So the important thing is a girl must have self esteem, according to you. Do you have any other categories?

A: She has to be smart.

B: Why?

A: If she's not smart she won't connect with me because I'm smart.

B: [laughing] You really have self esteem! [laughing] Alright, now next: what do you think about Indonesian girls?

A: As far as I know, in Jakarta – because I've been living here for the past four years – I think they're getting nicer. They're getting better in all sorts of ways. And that includes better at making money.

B: They're better at making money, or dressing up, or what?

A: Getting better in dressing up, for sure. Lots of them are good at making money. And one of them is you. [both laughing] Then, what other ways of being better did you mention?

B: Well, I don't know; there are plenty. Define what you mean. [laughing]

A: Well, In what sort of ways? What sorts of ability do you want me to mention, because I know that lots of girls have many abilities. Including the ability to fool their parents.

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[39] He is playing with words: *keberatan* '(have an) objection' is based on *berat* 'heavy'. *Kalo cewenya berat, ya gua keberatan* literally means 'If the girl is heavy I have a heaviness'.

B: [laughing] Right. So what is the difference between Jakarta girls and those in Java?

A: In Java, eh? Well, it depends where in Java you're talking about. [laughing]

B: Well, where you come from, then.

A: Where I come from .. if girls are said to be smart, they usually are smart. True, yeah. If they're smart they're smart. Whereas here, if someone's said to be smart, it could just be they look smart because they're dressed up well. So the first impression people get of them is good. Whereas kids in the provinces perhaps just look ordinary, but actually they have something that's extraordinary behind their ordinary appearance. That's it, Yul! Let's get on with it!

B: Okay then, now let's be more specific. What about the girls at Atma Jaya (University)?

A: I like the girls in Atma because lots of them are pretty and I'm one of those who appreciate God's gift and enjoy it. So because women are created by God, because they're His work too, there's nothing wrong if I enjoy the beauty they possess.

B: [laughing] Enjoy? What do you enjoy?

A: Oh, just enjoy. Like looking at a beautiful woman: 170 cm tall, 50 kg, size 34b, wearing a tank-top and stretch pants. I think she's beautiful to look at, even though it's not good for your morals**.** Only, I just love to look at them. [both laughing] 'Wow, nice view!,' that would be my reaction. There's nothing wrong with it. If there's something beautiful and you don't look at it, that's stupid.

B: Right.

A: If there's something beautiful right in front you – we have to enjoy God's beauty. It's just like God created mountains and rivers. If we can enjoy those we discover something that, well, we appreciate God's gift. And it's the same with looking at girls, you know. If she's beautiful, 'Wow, she's beautiful', don't you think? [laughing]

B: Yeah. Well now Ferry, nowadays since the Spice Girls have become, the word is tops in Indonesia, it seems many girls are getting increasingly daring in the clothes they wear. I don't know, perhaps it's because it's getting easier to access information or because of the wave of modernisation, or whatever it is, in your opinion girls who are like that, who try to follow fashion like that, are they attractive, or not?

A: It depends on what way she's attractive. If she goes to lectures wearing a tank top and wearing teabag model clothes – do you know what I mean by teabag?

B: Teabag? No.

A: Well, tea-bag clothes are like this; if she sits (her back) shows. But if she stands, the front opens out. Yes, it seems they wear their little sisters' clothes. I don't like that because it can disturb their friends' concentration in class. But if she wants to go to the mall, or to a club, or pub, or she's in the mountains, doing sport – why

would she be doing sport in the mountains? – if she's running in Senayan,[40] that's fine. If you want to show off your beauty that's OK. If you want to show that you're someone who follows the latest in fashion, well, that's fine by me. Only, if you're in class, don't do it. Have pity on your friends. [laughing] Have pity on me also sometimes.

B: So it's up to you to wear whatever type of clothes you want as long as you pay attention to the time and place, is that it?

A: Yes, I think that has to be the case. If you want to wear anything, if you want to wear a black g-string, or wear white transparent pants, as long as you don't wear them to class, it's okay in my opinion. But if you're wearing them during a lecture it'll disturb the concentration of people sitting behind you or who are watching you walk by, right? Because there's something annoying, a black triangle on her behind. It's not nice to look at. That's the thing.

B: Then speaking of clothes, if there's an evening party, in your opinion, if there's a girl who you see for the first time, who makes you go 'Wow', what sort of appearance would such a girl at an evening party have?

A: Okay, you mean a formal party?

B: Uh-huh.

A: If it's a formal function, a girl who would certainly enchant me is one with long flowing hair. Then, she'd be elegant, tall, also with good proportions. And she'd be wearing something .. well, elegant. Not too exposed: 'Look at my boobs spilling out everywhere.' I really don't like that sort of thing. But if she has something special and she can show it without being too vulgar, that would make me really, like 'Gosh, when can I date her?' But if she's the type who's spilling out everywhere, why would I want to look at her? If I just (wanted) that sort of thing, I (just have to) sit in the office; if I want to find (flesh) spilling out there's lots of it. All I have to do is just click. Lots of sites provide girls (with flesh) spilling out. They're spilling-out types. [laughing]

B: So you think being a sexy girl doesn't mean she has to show absolutely everything? I mean, an attractive girl doesn't have to be one who goes, 'Wow! Look! Look at my body!'. Is that what you mean?

A: Yes that's it. I really agree with what you've just said. She's sexy, but she doesn't have to show off like, 'Look at my boobs,' or 'Look at my thighs.' Just be natural, just be yourself. Be elegant, be an elegant woman. Be an attractive woman, meaning show that you have a brain, not just a body. That's how it should be. If you just depend on going around naked, that's something I'm already used to. I've seen so many naked women on the internet. If I have a credit card, I can subscribe to live videos.

B: [laughing] Ok, now talking about hair, why does her hair have to be free and flowing?

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[40] Senayan: referring to the sports stadium in Senayan, Jakarta.

A: Because basically I like looking at girls with long, well-groomed hair. Because you know, if I want to stroke her hair it's nice if it's from her head to her back, rather than just to her neck, you see.

B: What actually's the problem if a girl has short hair? Is it because – this is a sort of stereotype – boys have short hair and girls have long hair? Should she have long hair so as to show her femininity, or what?

A: Well, not really that. Sometimes I'm also attracted to girls who have short hair, just that. Short just like yours. I've just referred to your previous question about what would make a girl at an evening reception attractive. Well, girls who would charm me are those with an appropriate gown, elegant, with long flowing hair. While on another occasion, perhaps when I'm just walking as usual, I can be charmed to see a girl with short hair like yours. A girl who's easy going. Probably I could be enchanted by that too, you know. Whereas, in another opportunity, it can happen that while I'm walking, I am charmed by a girl who has short hair like you and who's easy going too, that could make me charmed more, you know. That's the situation. So, for me her hair doesn't have to be long. But clearly what's beneath her hair is the important thing.

B: You mean her brains?

A: Ha! Right. Fortunately you understand. [both laughing]

4.3 Interview [13]

Two speakers:

A: Angelique Arlianty (Angel), 26, female, ballet instructor and dancer

B: Yuli, 23, female, interviewer and recorder

The recording was made on 28 July 2000 at the Flamingo Dance Studio where the interviewee worked, in Citra Regency, a large mall in Kuningan, Jakarta. The interviewee was a friend of the interviewer and several other friends were listening. There is considerable background noise and a number of comments from friends and asides from the interviewee to them. The atmosphere from the beginning is relaxed and good-natured. Angel speaks enthusiastically and unselfconsciously about her work as a dancer.

The following extract is slightly more than the first quarter of the full interview.

B:	Ini	Yuli,	skarang	ada	sama	Angel, // ee ..		sala seorang		penari	di		
	this	Y	now	be	with	A		[one of the	]	dancer	in		
	Indonesia, .. //		cea .. //		ngakunya		si. // Ee ..		gue		sama	Angel	
	Indonesia		*exc*		acknowledge-*nya*		*dp*		I		with	A	

ada di Citra Regency, Kuningan, // ee.. dan skarang Angel bisa
be in C R K and now A can

tolong perkenalkan diri elu dulu Gel.
please introduce self you first G

A: Ehem! Oke, // nama saya Angel. // Nama panjangnya
exc OK name my A name long-*nya*

Angelique Arlianty, // nama permandiannya Patricia, // nama keluarganya
A A name baptism-*nya* P name family-*nya*

Sulaiman. // Nah lengkap. // Eh saya anak kedua dari tiga
S *dp* complete I child second of three

bersodara, // mami saya asalnya dari Bandung, // papi saya
be.sibling mum my origin-*nya* from B dad my

asalnya dari Bangka, // Sumatra, // kakak saya cowok, //
origin-*nya* from B S older.sib my male

adik saya cowok. // Saya sekarang umurnya dua puluh enam, //
younger.sib my male I now age-*nya* [26]

dua pulu tuju Juni yang lalu dua enem, // lahirnya taon tuju
[27] June which past two six born-*nya* year seven

empat. // Rumah saya di daerah Jelambar, // kavling Polri // mm ..
four house my in area J division P

pagernya warnanya putih, // sekarang temboknya uda dicat
fence-*nya* colour-*nya* white now wall-*nya* already painted

warna kuning.
colour yellow

Teru:s .. saya lulusan Atma Jaya, // psikologi, // dua taun yang
then I graduate A J psychology two year which

lalu. // Hobi saya nyanyi' .. di kamar mandi', // [laughter] emm ..
past hobby my sing in [bathroom]

menari. // Saya masuk ndutinya[41] tari itu dari kelas satu S D, //
dance I enter world dance that from class one *S D*

pertama kali saya masuk Bina Vokalia dulu, // nyanyi', // teru:s
first time I enter BV first sing then

saya ngeliat temen saya // ikut pementasan // ikut pementasan, //
I see friend my join staging join staging

terus saya kepengen ikut pementasan Shangrila // operet, // terus
then I wish join staging S operetta then

akhirnya saya masuk dunia tari, // dunia akting // dari satu SD, //
finally I enter world dance world acting from one *SD*

---

[41] Meaning to say *dunia* 'world'.

teru:s ternyata saya punya bakat, // saya nggak tau, // terus
then clearly I have talent I not know thus

uda gitu lanjut terus sampe SMA // Di tenga-tengah itu
already thus continue then until *SMA* in middle that

saya les organ // sampe *step* delapan, // saya les
I take.lesson organ until eight I take.lesson

brenang // sampe lancar, // eeh .. terus, yang pasti nari saya
swim until proficient then what certain dance I

continue, // nyanyi saya setop karena saya pikir suara saya
sing I stop because I think voice my

terlalu seriosa. // [laughing] // Ayah saya penyanyi seriosa, //
too classical father my singer classical

pasangan dari Pranajaya, // .. hm tante saya penyanyi sopran, // ee:
partner of P aunt my singer soprano

anak kesayangan dari Sukarno, // teru:snya: ya, .. // katanya sih
child favourite of S then-*nya* *dp* word-*nya* *dp*

muka saya mirip papa saya ya. // Tapi saya dulu nggak
face my resemble father my *dp* but I first not

mau, // soalnya gendut. // Tapi skarang saya uda kurus.
want thing.is fat but now I already thin

Saya nari di -// saya men- mendalami nari itu bener-bener
I dance at I deepen dance that really

waktu SD kelas tiga // itu saya masuk balet, // *Royal Academy*
when *SD* class three that I enter ballet

of Dancing, // terus di SMP masih *continue* balet, // SMA saya
then in *SMP* still ballet *SMA* I

masuk jazz, // saya seneng sekali, // saya sering menjadi penari
enter jazz I happy very I often be dancer

latar // aah dibayarnya nggak gede si, // tapi enak-enak aja //
background paid-*nya* not big *dp* but great just

nari, // teru:s sampai di SMA itu // saya nari // tapi saya
dance then until in *SMA* that I dance but I

ngajar nari juga, // saya jadi kor-, // saya jadi
teach dance also I become I become

koreografer, // saya ngajarin daerah-daerah tertentu, // ee .. saya ngajar
choreographer I teach areas certain I teach

acting juga // di sanggar tempat saya blajar nari sejak kecil, //
also in studio place I study dance since little

terus lulus SMA // saya masuk kuliah, // saya jadi penari
then pass *SMA* I enter lecture I become dancer

part-time // di Dufan, // penari latar *video clip*, // jadi
at D dance background so

penari-penari – // ya, pokoknya nari deh. // muter deh, //
dancers *dp* thing.is dance *dp* go.around *dp*

di tempat-tempat di hotel, // di Hailai, // dan lain-lain. // Sampai
in places at hotel at H and so.on until

saya jenuh, // saya bosan, // saya coba masuk kerja, // dapet, //
I fed.up I bored I try enter work get

dari Atma Jaya juga // karena IP[42] saya di atas tiga koma lima
from A J also because GPA my at above [3.5]

waktu itu, // dapet kerjaan lewat Atma Jaya di Auto Dua Ribu.
time that get work via A J at A [2000]

Cukup enem bulan aja // nggak mau lagi, // bosen sama
enough six month just not want more bored with

kepala: .. kepalanya yah. // Apa? // Kepalanya apa sih disebutnya
head head-*nya* *dp* what head-*nya* what *dp* called-*nya*

ya? // pokoknya kepalanyalah, // di cabang, // kepala cabang. //
dp thing.is head-*nya*-*lah* in branch head branch

Cape ati:, // soalnya: kepala cabangnya nyebelin deh! // Cina
[irritated] thing.is head branch-*nya* cause.resentment *dp* Chinese

kota'. // [laughter] Nggak mau lagi! // ee .. karena kasar sekali
town not want further because rude very

kalau ngomong, // anjing, babi, segala semua kluar. // Nggak mau
if talk dog pig all all come.out not want

lagi, // [laughing] *mention* yah. // Ya trus begitu. // Tapi saya
more *dp* *dp* so.on thus but I

pengalaman di sana enak // karna saya bisa jadi blajar gimana
experience at there good because I can come study how

cara mengadministrasikan sesuatu, // pake komputer, // gimana masukin
way administer something use computer how enter

data, // sampe masukin nomor rangka mobil, // nomor mesin mobil, //
data up.to enter number frame car number engine car

saya bisa' ngarang[43].// Tadinya nggak ngerti. // Saya uda tau
I can write just.now not understand I already know

---

[42] IP: *indeks prestasi* 'grade point average'

[43] *ngarang* means 'write'. The meaning here is unclear.

yang namanya Kijang itu LGX, LSX, LX, // .. dan lain-lain, //
which name-*nya* K that and so.on

sandstone, *blue*, apa gala macem ampe hafal luar kepala. // Bisa bikin
[and so on] up.to [memorise] can make

Klub Auto Dua Ribu', // bisa dapet dlapan pulu persen diskaun, //
club Auto 2000 can get [80] percent discount

bisa gratis lagi masukin mobil ke bengkel. // Pokoknya enak. //
can free further enter car to work.shop thing.is good

Terus dapet macem-macem dari Auto Dua Ribu. // Tapi belakangan
further get all.sorts from Auto 2000 but later

nggak kuat, // keluar.
not strong leave

Na: .. trus begitu kelarin skripsi. // Kelarin skripsi, // selesai, //
well then thus finish thesis finish thesis finish

cari kerja'. // Cari kerja' – // kerja di mana ya waktu itu
seek work seek work work at where *dp* time that

yah? [to friends] // Di mana sih? [to friends] // Oh! // Tetep jadi
dp at where *dp* *exc* remain be

guru'. // Tetep jadi guru'. // Nggak mau kerja kantor lagi, //
teacher remain be teacher not want work office more

udah bosen, // jadi guru' di sanggar, // tetep, // bertahun-tahun .. //
already bored be teacher in studio remain for.years

Saya uda bisa .. waktu itu // – oh – // eeh .. rekaman // untuk
I already can time that record for

kaset-kaset Sharivan, Gaban, Gogle Five, segala macem. //
cassettes S G G F [everything]

mengorganisasikan, // jadi sutradara' // pertamanya jadi wakil
organise be director first-*nya* be assistant

sutradara', // trus akhirnya jadi sutradara' // di operet. //
director then finally become director in operetta

Operet-operet banyak, // Shangrila, // itu saya jadi sutradaranya, //
operettas many S that I be director-*nya*

blajar dari Sena Utoyo, // almarhum Sena Utoyo, // skarang dia
study from S U late S U now he

udah meninggal. // Saya blajar banyak, // saya dapet honor
already die I study much I get honorarium

banyak. // Saya bisa *shopping* // banyak. // [phone ringing]
much I can much

Siapa sih? [to friends] [laughing].
who *dp*

Ya sampe akhirnya // ee .. waktu itu kerusuhan Mei, // kaca mobil
dp until finally time that riots May glass car

saya dipecain, // saya stress, dan akhirnya saya memutuskan
my smashed I stress and finally I decide

untuk mencoba sekolah di luar // negeri, // diajak kakak
to try school at outside country urged older.brother

saya, // di luar negri. // Tadinya mau ngambil *MBA*, // tapi
my at outside country previous want take MBA but

akhirnya: .. setelah di sana, // stelah di Amerika, // saya ngeliat
finally after at there after in America I see

schedule *MBA*, // saya nggak suka sama skali // malah saya
MBA I not like [at all] moreover I

tertarik untuk ambil skolah balet. // Tapi berhubung pacar /
attracted to take school ballet but connected boyfriend

saya di sini, // kalo skolah balet ambil dari: dasar bangat, //
my at here if school ballet take from basis very

untuk ngedapet *licence* itu kurang lebi enam taun, // belum lagi
to get that [more or less] six year not.yet more

ditambah lagi, // itu baru lulus itu. // Baru – apa ya? //
added more that just pass that just what *dp*

Ah *undergraduate* deh. // Nah trus untu-, untuk masuk – apa? –
dp *dp* then to to enter what

college sgala macem, // ya kurang lebi' empat belas taonlah.//
[everything] *dp* [more or less] [14] year-*lah*

[laughing] Adu mo umur brapa ya? // Tapi bisa jadi
exc want age how.much *dp* but can be

penari, // itu cita-cita saya dari dulu, // saya pengen menjadi
dancer that ambition my from previous I want become

penari *professional*. // Bener-bener *professional*. // Tapi saya sampe
dancer really but I until

skarang saya masi berasa ilmu saya tu kurang. // Buat
now I still feel knowledge my that lacking for

di sini, // oke cukup // tapi buat di Amerika, saya belom ada
at here OK enough but for in America I not.yet be

sejempol-jempolnya penari-penari yang laen. // Ya uda, ampe
[be a scratch on] dancers which other yes already until

ahernya saya ngebayar[44]// .. e:h kerinduan saya, // – buset kerinduan –. //
finally I satisfy longing my damn longing

Ya pokoknya, // saya ngebayar apa yang saya mau itu
dp thing.is I satisfy what which I want that

dengan saya nontonin orang-orang nari di Amerika, // saya
by I watch people dance in A I

pertama nonton, // dingin-dingin tuh, // pake baju tiga
first watch very.cold that wear clothes three

lapis .. // [laughter] pake baju tiga lapis, // nontonin orang
layer wear clothes three layer watch person

nari'. // Aa.. mreka bingung kali ngeliat orang Asia masuk. //
dance they puzzled perhaps see person A enter

Saya duduk, // nontonin mreka dari pemanasan, // makanya saya
I sit watch them from warming.up no.wonder I

hafal mreka pemanasan ngapain aja. // Itu tiap hari'. //
memorise they warming.up do.what just that each day

Karna saya nggak bisa ditrima masuk di situ kalo saya
because I not can accepted enter to there if I

belom menyelesaikan // .. e:h *international school*. // Jadi saya mesti
not.yet finish so I must

blajar bahasa dulu. // Akhirnya tibalah saya blajar bahasa. //
study language first finally arrive-*lah* I study language

Pegel kan loh? [to friends] [laughter]
stiff *dp* *dp*

Tibalah saya blajar bahasa, // sambil blajar bahasa,
arrive-*lah* I study language while study language

saya blajar tari di sekitar kampus, // *TCU, Texas Christian*
I study dance at around campus

University di Texas. // Ee: .. di Forthworth. // Mm .. karna
in T in F because

kemauan saya nari dan kakak saya nggak merestui, // ya
wish my dance and brother my not bless *dp*

kakak saya bilang, // 'Kalo emang lu mau nari, // ya
brother my say if indeed you want dance *dp*

lu pegi aja sendiri jalan kaki'.' // Akhirnya saya nyari, //
you go just self [walk] finally I seek

---

[44] *ngebayar* means 'pay'. The meaning here is unclear although she repeats it in the next sentence. The translation 'satisfy' is used here.

jalan kaki, // tempat *TCU*, it- apa? // Tempat nari saya itu, //
[walk] place that what place dance my that

Diane West Studio, // itu saya nyari dan nggak ketemu'! // Jalan kaki', //
that I seek and not find [walk]

empat pulu menit, // di udara dingin gitu, // empat pulu menit nyari,
[40] minute in air cold thus [40] minute seek

nyari // – aa apa? –// nyari studionya nggak ketemu'! // Ampe ahernya
seek what seek studio-*nya* not find until finally

balik-baliknya lagi saya ke kampus lagi'. // Empat pulu menit
turn.back-*nya* again I to campus again [40] minute

uda jalan jadinya muter. // Ya ujah[45]. // Ampe akhirnya saya
already walk result turn *dp* already until finally I

nyetopin mobil polisi di Amerika. // Saya panggil mobil polisi, //
stop car police in A I call car police

iya gua manggil mobil polisi [aside to friends]. // Terus, saya bilang, //
yes I call car police then I say

e:h '*Sir, can you help me?*' // Pokoknya waktu itu bahasa Inggris:nya
thing.is time that language English-*nya*

masi ngaco deh. // Masi ngaco banget, // baru brapa minggu'
still confused *dp* still confused very just several week

gitu di Amerika, // bahasa Inggrisnya masih ngaco'. // Ya trus
thus in A language English-*nya* still confused *dp* then

begitu, // mm *'Yes Madam, can I help you?'* // Dan dia bantuin.// 'Oo!', ee
thus and he help *exc*

trus saya bilang, // 'Saya nggak tau ni alamat ini. // Gimana
then I say I not know this address this how

cara dapetinnya?' // Na trus dia bilang, 'Oke, masuk' katanya. //
way find.it *dp* then he say OK get.in word-his

'Hop in.' // Masuk di belakang. // Adu, itu mobil polisi bagian
get.in at back *exc* that car police part

belakang uda kayak tahanan, // banyak jeruji-jerujinya gito. //
back already like arrest many bars-*nya* thus

Tapi [unclear] // dudu:k // Trus da gitu ee: .. dianter, // dinginnya
but sit then after that taken cold-*nya*

AC enak banget kan? // Pat pulu menit, // cuman lima menit,
AC pleasant very *dp* [40] minute only five minute

bet! // nyampe ke sana. // [laughter] ya, [unclear] ke sana, //
zip arrive to there *dp* to there

---

[45] Meaning *udah.*

narilah gue! // Di sana, // dua stengah jam, // *non-stop*, //
dance-*lah* I at there [two and a half] hour

setiap seminggu', // ambil kelas yang dua kali. // Ambil
each one.week take class which two time take

advance class. // Adu, itu yang namanya orang-orang – // nari
exc that which name-its people dance

itu kayaknya mreka mungkin uda penari profesional,
that like-*nya* they perhaps already dancer professional

kali ya? // Bagu:s banget, // kayaknya gua nggak
perhaps *dp* beautiful very like-*nya* I not

ada sejempol-jempolnya, // gua uda kayak ini, // uda kayak
[be a scratch on] I already like this already like

wayang kakung[46] [unclear]. // Uda kayak jaelangkung, // kaku banget!
puppet stiff already like puppet stiff very

// Mreka tu narinya bagu:s banget. // Adu, gemes deh. //
they that dance-*nya* beautiful very *exc* infuriating *dp*

Uda gitu kalo giliran nari satu-satu gua minder. //
already thus if turn dance one.by.one I inferior

Soalnya' kayaknya paling jelek gitu. // Tapi nggak papalah,[47] //
thing.is like-*nya* most bad thus but [no matter]-*lah*

gua pikir pokoknya nambah ilmu, // dua stengah jem nari
I think thing.is add.to knowledge [two and a half] hour dance

non-stop // rentek badan yang namanya // di luar tu ujan es, //
stiff body which name-its at outside that [snow]

kita di dalem kepanasan.
we at inside suffer.from.heat

Ya uda, // trus setelah enam bulan, // sebenernya gua pengen
dp already then after six month actually I want

continue nari // padahal gua kangen banget sama cowok
dance although I long.for very with boyfriend

gue, // ee: .. nyokap gua *stroke*, // ya pulanglah. // Pulang
my mum my *dp* go.home-*lah* go.home

ke Jakarta', // nyari kerja', // dalam waktu .. satu bulan // langsung
to J seek work in time one month directly

dapet pekerjaan, // dapet di Bambino *International School*. //
get work get in B

---

46 Probably meaning *kaku* 'stiff, awkward'.

47 *papa* is a common abbreviation for *apa-apa* 'anything'.

Ngajar anak-anak kecil, // *preschool, toddler* // lucu banget.// Itu
teach children little cute very that

sepulu bulan. // Na, di situ juga gue .. ngajar balet juga, //
ten month *dp* at there also I teach ballet also

nggak jauh-jauh deh, // ke nari juga. // Buka sekola balet, //
not very.far *dp* to dance also open school ballet

kerja sama ama orang Korea, // *the principal is Korean.* //
work together with person K

Ya terus da gituh, // ee: spulu bulan, // dan stupulu[48] bulan
dp then after that ten month and ten month

juga uda berasanya *enough* // karna ternyata gua di-*cheated*. //
also already feel-*nya* because clearly I tricked

Ditipu tentang pembagian keuntungan. // Ya udah, // ampe ahirnya
tricked about dividing profits *dp* already until finally

ee: gua dapet – // gua *luckily*, ee .. gue dape:t .. kesempatan
I get I I get opportunity

untuk buka' di Citra Regency // dari salah satu orang tua murid
to open at C R from [one of the] [parent] pupil

yang skolah di Bambino, // ya gua buka di Citra Regency
who school at B *dp* I open in C R

dan sampe skarang gue, // Insya Allah, [laughter] // Agustus tanggal satu
and until now I [God willing] August date one

buka studio di Citra Regency. // Dateng yah? [to friends] [laughter]
open studio at C R come *dp*

B: Oke, gini Angel. // Ada satu yang kayanya tu membuat
OK like.this A be one which like-*nya* that make

gua jadi bertanya-tanya, // sebenernya apa sih yang begitu
I become keep.asking actually what *dp* which thus

elu sukai gitu dalam dunia tari'? // Kayak kok lu
you like thus in world dance like *dp* you

suka: banget, // kayak cinta mampus gitu lo.
like very like [love to death] thus *dp*

A: Cinta mampus bo'! // [laughing] Catet lu ya bo-nya, jangan
[love to death] *exc* note you yes *exc-nya* don't

lupa. // [laughing] eh gimana yah? // .. Pertama kan gua masuk //
forget how *dp* first *dp* I enter

balet. Di balet tu gua ngeliat .. – // ini gua tutup mata ya, //
ballet in ballet that I see this I shut eye *dp*

---

[48] Meaning to say *sepuluh*.

biar gua bisa *imagine*. // Balet tu kayanya semua orang itu
so I can ballet that like-*nya* all people that

nari dengan klasik .. // e: .. *sliding*. // Mereka tu' gerakannya
dance with classic they that movement-*nya*

semua' .. nyambung gito. // Sedangkan di: // – dan stelah gua
all connect thus while in and after I

SMA, // gua pikir balet itu kan *the best* dari semua. // Aerobik,
SMA I think ballet that *dp* of al aerobics

tewas. // Apalagi? // *Body language* skarang? // oo!
dead what.else now *exc*

nggak ada apa-apanya dah! // Terus apalagi? // ee Bali? // Adu,
[there is nothing]-*nya* already then what.else B *exc*

nggala ya // kalo yang tradisional nggala ya, ngga suka ya. //
not-*lah* *dp* if which traditional not-*lah* *dp* not like dp

Ampe terahir tu gua ngeliat jazz. // Penari jazz. // Mereka, // jazz
until finally that I see jazz dancer jazz they jazz

bisa keliatan begitu nempel di lantai, // bisa kayanya berat
can be.seen thus stick on floor can like-*nya* heavy

banget di lantai, // tapi mreka bisa *sliding up to the air*. //
very on floor but they can

Kayanya bisa *jumping* begitu tinggi, // trus bisa -, // jadi mreka
like-*nya* can so high then can so they

bisa muter, *rotation* // bisa brapa kali, // bisa ada yang
can turn can several times can be who

tiga kali, // empat kali, // mreka bisa lakonin piroet, //
three times four times they can act.out pirouette

piroet itu muter satu kaki, // begitu bagus // dan semua
pirouette that turn one foot so beautiful and all

dilakoninnya tu kadang-kadang bisa' // ee pelan, // kadang-kadang
acted.out-*nya* that sometimes can slow sometimes

cepet. // Kadang-kadang mereka diem, // terus mimiknya juga'. //
fast sometimes they still then mimic-*nya* also

Kayenya kalo mreka nari, – // kalo gua nari', // gua berasa
like-*nya* if they dance if I dance I feel

di panggung tuh, // gua sendirian. // Mo orang nonton, //
on stage that I alone want person watch

mo orang ngerokok, // mo orang tidur, // pokoknya gue kalo
want person smoke want person sleep thing.is I if

uda nari, gua nari buat gua sendiri. // Jadi ya makasih
already dance I dance for [myself] so *dp* thanks

kalo orang bayar gue, // ya makasih banyak // mreka nonton
if person pay me yes thanks a.lot they watch

gua. // Cuman kalo mreka nggak bayar juga gua uda
me only if they not pay also I already

seneng banget deh. // Pokoknya kayaknya buat gua tuh nari
happy very *dp* thing.is like-*nya* for me that dance

nomor satulah, // buat gue. // Nggak ada matinya. // Gitu Bu'.[49]
number one-*lah* for me not be die-*lah* thus ma'am

B: Jadi karena keindahan dari seni tari itu sendiri?
so because beauty of art dance that itself

A: Iya dan kepuasan. // Gua, *satisfaction* // gua nari itu nggak akan
Yes and satisfaction I I dance that not will

bisa dibayar ama apapun. // Pokoknya gua berasanya gua
can be.paid with anything thing.is I feel-*nya* I

puas banget // kalo gua bisa nari'. // Ya dibayar, // ya namanya
satisfied very if I can dance *dp* paid *dp* name-*nya*

kita profesi. // Gua mau pekerjaan gua dihargai seperti orang
we profession I want work my valued like person

dihargai sebagai guru, // dihargai sebagai manajer, // gua mau
valued as teacher valued as manager I want

sebagai penari gua dihargain. // Karna itu mungkin gua nggak
as dancer I valued because that possible I not

mo jadi penari lagi. // Karna .. gua ngeliat banyak temen-temen
want be dancer more because I see many friends

gua yang setelah menari, // mereka mau dibayar berapa pun //
my who after dance they want be.paid [any amount]

ya karna mereka nggak punya profesi lain dan
dp because they not have profession other and

mungkin mrepa[50] – mreka kurang pake *knowledge* mreka ya? //
possibly they less use their *dp*

Mreka pinter nari // tapi mreka' di bidang *marketing*, //
they clever dance but they in field

di bidang eeh pengelolaan uang tu kurang // jadi mereka pokoknya
in field management money that less so they thing.is

---

[49] She uses *bu* 'mother' to the interviewer humorously, although she is several years the older.
[50] Meaning *mereka.*

nari, // mo dibayar lima pulu ribu, // dua pulu ribu, // tiga pulu ribu,
dance want be.paid [50,000] [20,000] [30,000]

oke. // Ya dulu awal-awal gua gitu, // gua ngerasain, // cuman
OK *dp* previous at.first I that I feel only

sekarang gua pikir kayanya, // ayola, // *make up you mind,* //
now I think like-*nya* come.on-*lah*

dunia kayaknya uda bekembang.
world like-*nya* already develop

Di Amerika penari itu kaya'. // Jangan liat kayanya
in A dancer that rich don't look.at wealth-their

deh. // Mreka hidup mapan . // Mereka bahagia punya profesi di
dp they live stable they happy have profession in

bidang *art*, // tapi mreka juga' .. hidupnya mapan. // Salon, mapan. //
field but they also life-*nya* stable salon stable

Di sini, salon? // Orangnya tu uda *image*-nya apa? //
at here salon person-*nya* that already *-nya* what

Banci. // Nari', cowonya homo. // Engga deh. // Sebenernya
transvestite dance male-*nya* homosexual not *dp* actually

enggak. // Bisa jadi cowok bener. // Ceweknya juga bener. // Tapi
not can be male true female-*nya* also true but

emang di sini kebanyakan karna – // bukan karna penarinya, //
indeed at here majority because not because dancer-*nya*

tapi karna faktor lingkungannya, gitu loh. // Faktor lingkungan
but because factor environment-*nya* thus *dp* factor environment

yang memaksa penari itu hidup – // hidupnya nggak jauh dari
which force dancer that life life-*nya* not far from

drugs, // dari: eh ganja, // sgala macemlah ya, // yang
from marihuana [everything]-*lah* *dp* which

gitu-gitula ya. // Nah, gua tu nggak mao itu. // Makanya
[like that]-*lah* *dp* *dp* I that not want that no.wonder

gua stop jadi penari, // gua stop untuk dianggep orang
I stop be dancer I stop to be.considered person

murah, // nggak mau gue. // Gue hidup dengan sifat *professional*, //
cheap not want I I live with quality

gua mo jadi guru', // tapi guru' bidangnya bidang tari //
I want be teacher but teacher field-*nya* field dance

dan anak-anak // karna *I love children*. // Cie.[51] [laughing]
and children because *exc*

B: Terus gini' Gel. // Kayaknya .. kalo nggak sala denger-denger
then like.this G like-*nya* if not wrong often.hear

perna jadi bintang *video clip* yah?
ever be star *dp*

A: Aduh, mati de gua. // E: .. adu:! [laughter] Gimana gitu. // Enggala, //
exc dead *dp* I *exc* how thus not-*lah*

[unclear] bintang *video clip*-la. // Yang jadi bintang *video clip* //
star -*lah* which be star

siapa si, // penyanyinya… 'Selamat Malam' [singing]
who *dp* singer-*nya*

C: Iis Dahlia.
I D

A: Aa Iis Da- // siapa?
exc I who

B: Dahlia.
D

A: Iya, Iis Dahlia ya, // *whatever*-lah, itula namanya. // Gua waktu itu, //
Yes I D *dp* -*lah* that-*lah* name-her I time that

itu waktu itu gua masi jadi guru yah // dis- di sala satu
that time that I still be teacher *dp* at [one of the]

sanggar, // sanggar Shangrila. // Trus da gitu, ee: salah satu
studio studio S then after that [one of the]

koreonya // bukan koreo si, // sebenernya // dia
choreographer-*nya* not choreographer *dp* actually he

pragawan gitula. // Pragawannya tapi kontet gitu, // pendek yah?
model thus-*lah* model-*nya* but stunted thus short *dp*

[laughing] // Itu dia koreo juga. // Trus diajak, 'Gel.' // ee: ..
that he choreographer also then urged G

'Mau nggak bantuin: gue?' gitu. // Bantuin dia gitu // untuk aa nari. //
want not help me thus help him thus to dance

'Buat siapa?' // 'Buat ini ni, penyanyi'. // Penyanyi lagi beken.' //
for who for this this singer singer present well.known

'Lagunya apa?' // 'Lagunya "Selamat Malam."' // Ya gua sori-sori
song-*nya* what song-*nya* S M *dp* I very.sorry

apja[52] yah, // jarang menger[53] dangdut[54] // jadi gua nggak tau lagu
what *dp* rarely hear so I not know song

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[51] *cie* is an exclamation which occurs frequently in the texts but is not found in dictionaries. It vaguely expresses self-satisfaction.

‘Selamat Malam’ kok apa gitu. // Ahirnya mulailah kita koreo
S M *dp* what that finally begin-*nya* we choreograph

bikin tarian, // ne gu[55] nari.// Balet. // Pake bajunya Spanyol. //
make dance *dp* I dance ballet wear clothes-*nya* Spanish

Nggak nyambung. // [laughing] Ya pokoknya narilah. // ‘Selamat Malam’
not match *dp* thing.is dance-*lah* S M

itu syutingnya di Ancol. // Masuk angin, // bener. // Seharian di
that shooting-*nya* at A [catch cold] true all.day at

Ancol, // ee .. di antara deburan-deburan: air laut. // [laughing]
A in among constant.pounding water sea

jijik bener sih. // Iya, siang-siang, // narinya berulang-ulang
nauseating true *dp* yes [middle of day] dance-*nya* repeatedly

ba-, // belasan kalila. // Uda di konde ciput, gitu. // Trus
10.to.20 times-*lah* already in [hair bun] thus then

kita pindah syuting ke Dufan, // Dufan mending naek // apa
we move shooting to D D rather ride what

gitu, // ini nggak. // Kita syuting // di bawah terik matahari gitu, //
thus this not we shooting at under heat sun thus

kita narinya *on the floor* gitu, // kita mesti *sliding-sliding*
we dance-*nya* thus we must

di bawah. // Aduh! // Matilah, nggak lagi dah, // makasyih!
at under *exc* dead-*lah* not again already thank.you

Interview [13] translation

B: This is Yuli. At present I’m with Angel, an Indonesian dancer – well, that’s what she says. Angel and I are at Citra Regency in Kuningan, and now will you please introduce yourself, Angel.

A: OK. My name is Angel. My full name is Angelique Arlianty. My baptismal name is Patricia. My family name is Sulaiman. Well, that’s my complete name. I’m the second of three siblings. My mum comes from Bandung and my dad comes from Bangka, Sumatra. I have one older brother and one younger brother. I am now 26 years old; I was 26 on 27th June last. I was born in 1974. My house is in Jelambar, in the Polri area. It has a white fence. The wall has now been painted yellow.

Well, going on, I’m a graduate of Atma Jaya (University). (I completed) psychology, 2 years ago. My hobbies are singing in the bathroom, [laughing] ahem, dancing. I entered the world of dancing beginning in first class primary school. At first I joined Bina Vokalia, singing. Then I saw my friends participating

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52 Meaning to say *apa.*
53 Meaning to say *denger.*
54 Dangdut: kind of popular music.
55 *ne gu*: presumably meaning to say *ya gua.*

in a stage performance. Then I wanted to join a performance of Shangrila, an operetta. So finally I entered the world of dance, the world of acting, beginning in first class primary school. It was clear I had talent, (although) I hadn't realised it. Then after that I continued on like that until senior high school. In between that I took organ lessons to stage eight. I took swimming lessons until I was proficient. So, what's definite is I continued to dance. I stopped singing because I thought my voice was too classical. [laughing] My father was a classical singer, the partner of Pranajaya. My aunt was a soprano, a favourite of Soekarno. Anyway, they say I resemble my father. But I didn't like that because I was fat. But now I'm slim.

I really got into dancing when I was in third class of primary school. At that time I took up ballet, in the Royal Academy of Dancing. In junior high school I continued ballet. In senior high school I took up jazz ballet. I was very happy, I was often a background dancer. The payments weren't big but it was just great dancing. So, until senior high school I danced but I taught dancing too. I became a choreographer, teaching specific areas. I also taught acting at the studio where I had studied dancing from when I was little. Then, after passing senior high school I started university. I became a part-time dancer at Dufan, a background dancer for video clips. Yeah, the thing is I danced, I travelled about, in places, in hotels, at Hailai, and so on. That went on until I had had enough. I was bored so I tried to get work. I got it, through Atma Jaya actually, because my GPA was above 3.5 at that time. I got work via Atma Jaya at Auto 2000. But six months was enough; I didn't want any more. I couldn't stand the head. Ah, what's the head called? At any rate, the head at the branch, the branch head. I got irritated. The thing is he upset me. Town Chinese! [laughing] I didn't want to continue because he was so rude when he spoke. Dog, pig (and curses) like that, all came out. I didn't want (to work there) any more. [laughter] I've said it, eh [aside to friends]? Well, that's how it was. But I got good experience there because I was able to learn how to do administration on the computer, how to enter data, so that I could even enter car body numbers and engine numbers. Before that I didn't know how. Now I know which Kijang is called an LGX, LFX, LX, and so on.[56] Even the colours – sandstone, blue, whatever – I've learned by heart. I was able to be a member of the Auto 2000 Club. I could get an 80% discount (buying a car) and put my car in at their workshop for free. It was great. I got all sorts of things from Auto 2000. But eventually I couldn't stand it anymore so I left.

Well, after that I finished my thesis. After finishing my thesis I looked for work. I looked for work. Where did I work then, eh? Where was it [to friends]? Oh! I continued being a teacher. I didn't want to work in an office any more. I was fed up with it. I remained a teacher in the studio for some years. At that time I could – oh, I made cassettes recordings for Sharivan, Gabon, Gogle Five, and so on, I organised, I became a director. At first I was an assistant director, then finally I became a director in operetta. There were many operettas. Shangrila; I was its director. I learnt from Sena Utoyo; the late Sena Utoyo; he's passed away. I learnt a lot, I got a lot of money and was able to do a lot of shopping. [phone rings] Who is it [to friends]? [laughter]

Until finally, .. well, at that time there were the May riots and my car window was smashed. I suffered stress and finally decided to try studying abroad. I was

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[56] Kijang is an Indonesian-made four-wheel-drive vehicle.

urged by my older brother (who was) overseas. At first I wanted to take the MBA but finally, after I arrived there, after I was in America, when I saw the MBA schedule I didn't like it at all. Instead I was attracted to take ballet classes. But because my boyfriend was here, if I took ballet school from the very beginning, to get a licence is about six years. That's just the beginning, just passing. I'd just be, what? An undergraduate. Well, anyway to go to college and what-not is about fourteen years. [laughing] Oh, how old would I be? But to be a dancer was my ambition from the first. I wanted to become a professional dancer, really professional. But up to now I still feel my knowledge is lacking. For here it's good enough, but for America I'm not yet a patch on other dancers. Well, finally I satisfied my longing – damn longing! Well, anyway I satisfied my need by watching people dancing in America. At first I just watched. It was very cold. I wore three layers of clothes. [laughing] I wore three layers of clothes while watching people dancing. Oh, they must have been puzzled to see an Asian coming in. I sat and watched them from the time they were warming up. That's why I memorised their warming up and everything. That happened every day because I couldn't be accepted (to study) there when I hadn't yet finished international school. I had to study the language first. Finally the time arrived for me to study the language. Stiff and sore are you [aside to friends]? [laughter]

Finally I studied the language. While studying the language I studied dancing near the campus – TCU, Texas Christian University in Texas, in Fort Worth. I longed to dance but my brother didn't approve. He said 'If you really want to dance you can walk there on your own'. Finally I went looking for the place on foot; the TCU place – I mean the dancing place, Diane West Studio. I searched for it but couldn't find it. I walked for 40 minutes in the cold air, 40 minutes looking for the studio but I couldn't find it. So finally I turned to go back to the campus. Forty minutes I'd been walking and I turned back! Oh well! Finally I stopped a police car. I waved down a police car. Yes, I waved down a police car [aside to friends]. Then I said, 'Sir can you help me?' The thing is at that time my English was still poor, still very poor. I'd only been in America several weeks and my English was still bad. He said, 'Yes, Madam, can I help you?' and he offered help. 'Oh', I said, 'I don't know this address. How can I get to it?' Then he said, 'OK, hop in'. I got in the back. Oh, the back of the police car was like a prison, with all those bars. But I sat in there. Then I was escorted. The cool of the AC is great, isn't it![57] Forty minutes (walking) then five minutes, zip – I'd arrived! [laughter] When I got there I danced! I was there two and a half hours, non-stop. Every week I took classes two times. I took the advanced class. Those people are what you'd call – like they were already professional dancers, really excellent. I wasn't a patch on them. I was like an awkward wayang figure, like a puppet, very awkward. Their dancing was really excellent. Oh, it was infuriating, I tell you! So when it was my turn to dance individually I felt inferior, because it was as if I was the worst. But no matter, I thought at least I was increasing my knowledge. Dancing two and a half hours non-stop I was really worn out. Outside it was snowing but inside we were suffering from the heat.

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[57] This may be an aside to friends, referring to the airconditioning in the shopping mall, although the intonation does not suggest it and there is no reaction from those listening.

So when I'd been there for six months I wanted to continue dancing, although I very much missed my boyfriend. But my mum had a stroke so I returned home. I returned to Jakarta and looked for work. Within one month I got work at Bambino International School. I was teaching young kids, preschoolers, toddlers. They were really cute. That was for ten months. Well, I also taught ballet there, so I still wasn't far away from dancing. You see my life is all about dancing. I opened a ballet school, in partnership with a Korean. The principal was Korean. I was there for ten months, and ten months was certainly enough because it was clear I was cheated. I was cheated over sharing of the profits. Well, that was that. But luckily I finally got the opportunity to open at Citra Regency, from a parent of a pupil at the Bambino School. So I'm opening at Citra Regency and, God willing, on the first of August I will open a studio in Citra Regency. You'll come, won't you [to friends]? [laughter]

B: Alright then. Now Angel, there's one thing that's got me wondering. Actually what is it that you like in the world of dancing? That you really enjoy, like love to death?

A: Love to death *bo*! [laughing] You write down the '*bo*', don't forget! [laughing] Well, how would I say it? At first I did ballet. In ballet I saw – Let me shut my eyes so I can imagine it. Ballet was like everyone was dancing in classical style, sliding. Their movements are all so smooth, you see. Whereas in – and after I finished senior high school I thought that ballet was the best of all. Aerobics? dead! What else? Body language, now? Ah! It's nothing, I say! Balinese? Oh, No, I don't like traditional dancing. Until finally I saw jazz, jazz dancers. They look like they're sticking to the floor, as if they're very heavy on the floor. But they can also go sliding up into the air, as if they're jumping, so high. Also they can spin, rotating several times. Some can do it three times, four times. They can carry out a pirouette on one foot, so beautifully and all carried out sometimes slow, sometimes fast. Sometimes they remain still, just using facial expressions. It's like, when they dance – if I dance I feel I'm alone on the stage. Let people watch, let them smoke, let them sleep, the thing is if I'm dancing I dance for myself. So thanks if people pay me, yeah thanks a lot if they watch me. But if they don't pay me I'm very happy anyway. The thing is, like for me dancing is number one. It'll never die. That's how it is.

B: So because of the beauty of the art of dancing itself?

A: Right and for satisfaction. My satisfaction from dancing could not be paid for with anything at all. Essentially I feel I'm very satisfied if I can dance. Sure, I'm paid, that's my profession. I want my work to be appreciated like a person is appreciated as a teacher, appreciated as a manager. I want to be appreciated as a dancer. But that's probably why I don't want to be a dancer anymore, because I've seen lots of my friends who after they finish dancing they accept being paid any amount because they have no other profession and maybe they don't use their knowledge enough. They're good at dancing but in the area of marketing, in the area of money management they are lacking. So they just dance, whether paid 50 thousand, 20 thousand, 30 thousand, it's OK. Yeah, at first I was like that. I've experienced it. Only, now I think it's like 'Come on! Make up your mind! The world has moved on.'

In America dancers are rich. But don't look at their wealth! Their lives are stable. They're happy to have a profession in the arts, but also their lives are stable. Beauty salons are stable too. But what are beauty salons here? What image do those people have? Transvestites! If they dance the men are homos. But it's not so. Actually it's not. They can be real men. The women are real too. But in fact here the majority – it's not because of the dancers but because of the environment. It's the environmental factor which forces the dancers to live – their lives aren't far from drugs, from marihuana, you see, from all sorts of things. Yeah, that's how it is. Well, I don't want that. No wonder I'm stopping being a dancer. I'm stopping being thought a cheap person. I don't want that. I want to live professionally. I want to be a teacher, but a teacher in the fields of dance and children, because I love children! They're great!

B: Well, now, Angel. If I haven't misheard, you were once a video clip star, were you?

A: Oh dear! I'm caught out! Oh, dear! [laughing]

How was it? No, no I wasn't a video clip star. The one who was a star, who was it? The singer? '*Selamat Malam*'. [singing]

C: Iis Dahlia.

A: Ah, Iis Da- who?

B: Dahlia.

A: Yes, Iis Dahlia, whatever, that was her name. At that time I was still a teacher, in one of the studios; Studio Shangrila. Well, then one of the choreographers, not a choreographer, actually he was a model, you see but stunted, short, right? [laughing] He was also the choreographer. He asked me: 'Angel, would you help me?' He wanted me to help him with the dancing. 'Who for?' (I asked) 'For this singer, this well-known singer.' 'What's the song?' 'It's *Selamat Malam.*' Well, I'm very sorry, I rarely listen to *dangdut* music[58] so I didn't know how the tune *Selamat Malam* went. Finally, we began to choreograph a dance. Well, I danced; it was a ballet and I was wearing Spanish clothes but they didn't match (the song) at all! [laughing] Well, I danced *Selamat Malam*. The shooting was at Ancol. I got a cold, really. All day at Ancol with the pounding of the surf; I really hated it. Yeah, in the middle of the day I did the dance time after time, dozens of times. I had a small round hair-bun. Then we moved the shooting to Dufan. At Dufan I'd rather go on a ride.[59] We were shooting under the full sun; we were dancing on the floor. We had to slide under (the sun). Ooh! I was half dead! I'll never do that again, thanks!

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58 *dangdut*: kind of popular music of Indian origin.

59 Dufan is an entertainment centre. She means that she did not get a chance to take any of the rides but had to dance instead.

4.4 Interview [17]

Two speakers

A: Yuli, 23, female, interviewer

B: Aviva (Avi), 22, female, student.

The recording was made in a hall at Atma Jaya University on 20 November 2000. There is some background noise from other students. Aviva (called Avi or Vi in the interview) is from a Batak background, although born in Jakarta. She is a dedicated social activist and speaks seriously about that topic. Her speech in this interview consequently does not contain any of the flippancy found in some of the other youth interviews and conversations. Her language throughout is in some ways more formal than that of most other young people recorded. For instance, she frequently uses verbal prefix *meN-* and suffixes *-kan* and *-i*. She uses *tidak* much more frequently than any other person interviewed (although not as frequently as she uses *enggak*). In other ways her speech is quite informal. She uses *udah* and *aja* much more than *sudah* and *saja* and refers to her parents as *bokap* and *nyokap*. She sees this rather semi-formal style as appropriate to the serious social issues she discusses and there is no evidence for how she would speak in other contexts. She is more articulate than most others recorded in interviews and this text is not nearly so context-bound as some other texts, which allows for easy translation. Although rather formal her speech is spontaneous, enthusiastic and at times very rapid.

A: Saya Yuli, masih ada di Hall C // dan sekarang saya mau *interview*
I Y still be in and now I want

orang di sebelah saya, // namanya Avi.[60] // Hallo Avi, // apa kabar?
Person at side my name-her A [how are you]

B: Baik.
good

A: Oke, // sekarang Vi, bisa tolong ceritain // aa .. tentang diri lo, //
OK now V can please tell about [yourself]

segala sesuatunya, Vi?
[everything] V

B: Hem .. // *A part that* eh .. // selain dari gue adalah aa manusia
Apart from I be person

yang sudah setaun *single* dan tidak ada prospektif untuk
who already a.year and not have prospects for

ke mana-mana lagi, // em .. gue // umur dua pulu dua taun, //
to anywhere more I age [22] year

[60] The letter <v>, usually from a Dutch or English source, is pronounced [f] in Indonesia, the sound [v] not occurring in the language. Her name is thus pronounced [afi].

gue aa:m // tinggal di – // gue lahir di Jakarta, // umur empat taun
I live in I born in J age four year

gue pergi ke Batak[61] ama orangtua gue, // ke Sumatra Utara, //
I go to B with parents my to S North

terus gue tinggal bareng ama // ee bareng ama orangtua gue
then I live together with together with parents my

dan kakak-kakak gue // ee: di Siborong-borong, // di Sumatra Utara, //
and older.siblings my in S in S North

na di situ gue tinggal dua taun, // terus gua balik lagi, //
dp at there I live two year then I return again

ee ngelanjutin skola gue [unclear] SD, SMP, SMA, // terus abis itu //
continue school my *SD* *SMP* *SMA* then after that

ee: ketika SMA kelas dua gua pindah lagi ke Australi, //
when *SMA* class two I move again to A

gue dapet *scholarship*. // Ee .. terus gue: // tinggal di sana
I get then I live at there

selama dua taun // gue balik lagi ke sini untuk kuliah
during two year I return again to here to study

di Atma Jaya. Eem .. orangtua gue. // Orangtua gue itu, // mereka
at A J parents my parents my that they

beda umurnya enem taun // dan dua-duanya sama-sama
difference age-*nya* six year and both.of.them both

kerja di LSM,[62] // ee jadi gue tinggal // gua lahir dari keluarga
work in NGO so I live I born of family

yang sangat berorientasi dengan .. aa: organisasi kemasyarakatan, //
which very orientated with organisation community

terus // gue punya: // ee dua orang kakak perempuan, // dan:
then I have two person older.sib female and

yang satu lagi kuliah di Jerman, // dan satu lagi uda
[another one] study in Germany and [another one] already

jadi *junior* aa // *junior* a:m: // am: .. // gue nggak tau ya
become I not know *dp*

namanya apa ya, // mungkin *attorney* // tapi dia bukan – //
name-*nya* what *dp* perhaps but she not

tapi dia bukan pengac- // dia pengacara perusahaan. // Bukan
but she not she lawyer company not

---

61 Her parents belong to the Batak ethnic group from the Tapanuli area in North Sumatra.

62 *LSM*: *Lembaga swadaya masyarakat* 'NGO'.

pengacara perdata.
lawyer civil

A: Pidana?
criminal

B: Pidana'! Dia bukan pengacara pidana // dan dia itu //
criminal she not lawyer criminal and she that

ee sekarang kerja di Kuningan, // sementara gue punya
now work at K while I have

adik[63] yang delapan taun lebih muda dari gue //
younger.sister who eight year more young than me

dan masih SMA di PL.[64] // Kelas satu. // Gitu. // Sudah.
and still *SMA* at *PL* class one thus already

A: Aam .. rasanya kalo punya orangtua yang: .. kerja di LSM //
feeling-*nya* if have parent who work in NGO

pasti bakal beda banget ya cara mereka ngedidik anak //
certain will different very *dp* way they teach child

dengan orang-orang tua yang biasa' kerja di kantor atau
with [parents] who usually work in office or

gimana, // lu ngerasa ada perbedaan nggak?
however you feel be difference no

B: Wah kalo seandainya gue harus ngerasa perbedaan parameternya
exc if supposing I must feel difference parameter-*nya*

susah banget yeh? // Karena – // aduh! // Karena begini // aam gue
difficult very *dp* because *exc* because like.this I

nggak pernah mempunyai ses-, // nggak punya – // nggak pernah
not ever have not have not ever

mempunyai satu sistim perbandingan. // Yang gue tau adalah
have one system comparison what I know is

kalo seandainya dibanding dengan keluarga dari Sumatera Utara
if supposing compared with family from Sumatra North

lainnya, // keluarga gue tuh termasuk liberalis. // Maksudnya //
other-*nya* family my that included.in liberal meaning-*nya*

ee gue tidak di-, // ee gue dan kakak-kakak gue dan
I not I and older.sisters my and

adek gue tu // tidak pernah dituntut untuk menuruti
younger.sister my that not ever demanded to follow

---

63 *Adik* means 'younger sibling'. While she states that she has older sisters she does not state whether her *adik* is male or female.

64 *PL*: *Pangudi Luhur*, name of a high school.

orangtua gue seratus persen, // gue diberikan hak dari kecil
parents my one.hundred percent I given right from little

untuk mem- menanyakan dan memprotes keputusan-keputusan
to question and protest decisions

mereka, //aa: terus gue gak pernah diarahkan ke satu
their then I not ever directed to one

bidang, // jadi dari SMA pun ketika begitu banyak
field so from *SMA* even when thus many

keluarga-keluarga Batak yang menyuruh anak-anaknya masuk
families B who order children-their enter

IPA,[65] // gue dibiarkan masuk IPS[66] dan segala macem. //
I given enter and [all.sorts.of.things]

Walopun gua akhirnya masuk IPA juga waktu ee kelas dua
although I finally enter also when class two

harusnya, // tapi gua pindah ke Australi. // Terus aa: // gue juga
should but I move to A then I also

tidak diberikan awep[67] // pilihan karir, // tidak diharuskan untuk
not given what choice career not required to

kuliah, // tidak diharuskan untuk macem-macem. // Jadi' keluarga
study not required to all.sorts so family

gue tuh sangat bebas dengan batasan-batasan tertentu. // Kalo
my that very free with limits certain if

gua bandingin sama oo: // keluarga-keluarga Batak lainnya, // aa
I compare with families B other-*nya*

itu tu mereka sangat .. // gimana yah? // Mereka tuh sangat
that that they very how. *dp* they that very

membatasi, // gitu lo. // Mereka sang- // misalnya ketika elo
limit thus *dp* they for.example when you

perempuan, // perempuan tuh kalo di Batak, // keluarga Batak
female female that if in B family B

tradisional tuh sangat diinjet-injet[68] gitu loh, // sangat, sangat
traditional that very trampled.on thus *dp* very very

dijajah, // sangat tidak ada artinya, gito. // Tapi di
dominated very not have meaning-*nya* thus but in

---

65 *IPA*: *Ilmu Pengetahuan Alam*, 'natural science', a high school major in earlier times.
66 *IPS*: *Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial* 'social sciences'.
67 Meaning to say *apa* 'what'.
68 Meaning to say *diinjak-injak* 'trampled on'.

keluarga gue malah perempuan tuh bener-bener disamain
family my instead female that really treated.equal

sama cowok. // Ya jadi bener-bener yang // ee bokap-nyokap
with male *dp* so really which parents

gue tidak merasa bahwa // karena perempuan, // anak-anaknya
my not feel that because female children-their

gak bo- gak usah skolah-skolah tinggi ato – // karena perempuan, //
no [no need] [go.to.university] or because female

aa kakak-kakak gue harus kawin, // misalnya walopun kakak
older.sisters my must marry for.example although sister

gue yang satu misalnya uda berumur dua pulu enam taun, //
my which one for.example already aged [26] year

jadi .. bener-bener sangat sama rata, // sangat em menghormati hak-hak
so really very [equal] very respect rights

kita semua // dan ya: sangat diajarkan untuk .. mandiri
us all and *dp* very taught to be.independent

juga gitu. // Jadi // dari umur tuju bel-, begitu umur tujuh belas
also thus so from age [17] thus age [17]

taun, // orangtua gua udah menyuruh anak-anaknya keluar
year parents my already tell children-their go.out

cari kerja'.
seek work

Dan dia bilang, // 'Ya udah, // lo kalo seandenya uda,
and he said *dp* already you if supposing already

uda ngerasa uda dewasa', // lu cari kerja sana,' gito. //
already feel already mature you seek work there thus

Ato misalnya kayak keputusan untuk merokok. // Orangtua
or for.example if decision to smoke parents

laen akan tereak-tereak untuk jangan merokok dan anak –
other will scream to not smoke and child

ana-anaknya akhirnya ngumpet-ngumpet ngerokok di lu- di luar,
children-their finally secretly smoke at [outside]

gitu kan? // Eeh tapi orangtua gue enggak gitu. // Orangtua gue
thus *dp* but parents my not thus parents my

lebih ah // 'Elo bikin *decision* lo sendiri. // Kalo seandainya
more you make [yourself] if supposing

emang elo pengen ngerokok, // ya lo tunggu lo kerja' //
indeed you want smoke *dp* you wait you work

gitu. // ‘Kalo seandenya setelah kerja lo mo ngerokok, // ya
thus if supposing after work you want smoke *dp*

itu uda terserah lo. // Itu lo bakar duit sendiri,’ gitu. //
that already up.to you that you burn money own thus

Jadi .. orangtua gua tuh bener-bener yang sangat liberal //
so parents my that really who very liberal

kalo ukurannya adalah keluarga Batak *standard*. // Tapi kalo
if measurement-*nya* be family B but if

seandainya gue meliat dari pekerjaan mereka // dibanding dengan
supposing I see from work their compared with

orang-orang tua lain // yang be-, mempunyai pekerjaan berbeda, //
[parents] other who have work different

gue gak bisa bedain // karena gue gak pernah bikin
I not can distinguish because I not ever make

studi perbandingannya gitu .. // Iya!
study comparative-*nya* thus *dp*

A: Em Gini Vi, // ortu[69] lu kan dua-duanya kerja di LSM
like.this V parents your *dp* both work in NGO

ya, // ada nggak si // itu maksudnya, // kerjaan mereka itu
dp be not *dp* that meaning-*nya* work their that

mempengaruhi elo sebage pribadi, // jadi maksudnya membuat
influence you as individual so meaning-*nya* make

lo tu lebih ee sosialis ato apa, gitu?
you that more socialist or what thus

B: Gua kalo lebih sosialis, // gue nggak tau. // Tapi a:m ...
I if more socialist I not know but

A: Ada pengaruh apa nggak?
be influence or not

B: Mungkin // ah gini, // dari kecil // – jadi kalo seandainya kita
possibly like.this from little so if supposing we

ngeliat dari aa jamannya Indonesia Orde Baru[70] gitu
see from time-*nya* I [New Order] thus

yah? // Begitu banyak anak-anak Indonesia yang percaya ama
dp thus many children I who believe in

sejarah-sejarah yang diberikan kepada mereka di skolah, //
histories which given to them in school

---

69 *ortu*: short for *orangtua* ‘parents’.

70 *Orde Baru*: ‘New Order’, the period of the Suharto government (1966–1996).

yang dicekokin ama mereka di skolah dan lag- lain sebagaenya, //
which force.fed to them in school and [so.on]

aa: mungkin yang paling *beneficial* buat gue itu adalah bahwa
perhaps what most for me that be that

gue tidak pernah dicekoki hal yang sama di rumah. //
I not ever force.fed matter which same at home

Jadi orangtua gua sangat mementingkan perkembangan kognitif
so parents my very emphasise development cognitive

gue // ee terutama di bidang politik dan sosial. // Jadi // mereka
my especially in field politic and social so they

bener-bener *keep me*, *keep me* aam // *you know keep me informed about wha-*
really

whatever happen. // Jadi misalnya, // ketika ada Perang Teluk, //
so for.instance when be War Gulf

ketika ada aa // pemi- [obscured by background noise] // aam Pramudya
when be P

dipenjara, // ketika ada apa, // mereka bener-bener memberitau
jailed when be something they really tell

gue, // aa sejarah yang obyektif, // gitu loh. // Jadi gue rasa', // aa
me history which objective thus *dp* so I feel

bahkan katika Indonesia lagi bagus-bagusnya secara ekonomis, //
moreover when I still really.good a.manner economic

aa gue tetep diajarkan di ruma // untuk tidak percaya ama
I still taught at home to not believe in

pemerintahannya, // bahwa untuk melihat kebobrokan pemerintahan
government-*nya* that to see corruption government

dan lain sebagenya, gitu loh. // Dan keluarga gua tuh sangat, // aa
[and so on] thus *dp* and family my that very

sangat .. mengajarkan gue untuk membaca'. // Jadi mere- ketika
very teach me to read so when

ana-anak lain belaj- baca literatur-literatur kayak Bobo[71], // ee ato
children other read literature like B or

ketika mereka remaja jadi Femina,[72] // Gadis,[73] gitu yah, //
when they teens so F G thus *dp*

gue lebi diajarin untuk baca bukunya Pramudya, // baca
I more taught to read book-*nya* P read

---

71 *Bobo*: a children's magazine.
72 *Femina*: a women's magazine.
73 *Gadis*: a magazine for teenage girls.

bukunya Alexander Hasnoch, // gua baca buku-buku yang udah //
book-*nya* A H I read books which already

gubrak![74] gitu, // uda, uda, uda buat orang-orang lain
heavy thus already already already for people other

itu uda buku-buku terlarang gitu lo. // Jadi' // ee jadi
that already books banned thus *dp* so so

itu doang sih gue rasa.
that just *dp* I feel

Jadinya ketika, // ee ketika kita tumbuh // anak-anak –
so-*nya* when when we grow children

anak-anak bokap-nyokap gua tuh tumbuh dengan // aa .. apa
children parents my that grow with what

namanya? // social pla- wawasan sosial-politik yang sangat luas, //
name-its social outlook social-political which very broad

wawasan aa psikoanalisa yang sangat kuas[75]// dan aa wawasan ..
outlook psychoanalytic which very strong and outlook

wawasan apa lagi ya? // Aam filsof- fil- filsafatnya juga
outlook what more *dp* philosophy-*nya* also

luas, // gitu. // Jadi // kita tuh nggak dijadi kerdil, // gitu loh. //
broad thus so we that not made stunted thus *dp*

Kayak gitu aja sih gue rasa kenapa, // apa efek dari aa
like that just *dp* I feel why what effect of

latar blakang bokap-nyokap gue, // karena mereka sangat .. //
[background] parents my because they very

gimana yah? // Karena mereka sangat // aa .. mereka sangat
how *dp* because they very they very

berkecimpung dalam haksi-aksi *counter* pemerintahan; // dalam aksi-aksi
be.active in actions government in actions

membela buruh, // membela wanita, // membela anak // dan itu ..
defend worker defend woman defend child and that

dan itu bener-bener diimplikasiin ama kita // sehingga kita
and that really have.implication to us so.that we

tidak besar dengan buta // dengan penderitaan di sekeliling
not grow.up with blind with suffering [around]

kita gitu lo. // Bahwa // aa bahwa sebaik-baiknya kita sebage
us thus *dp* that that as.well.as we as

---

[74] Abdul Chaer's Jakarta Malay dictionary gives the word *gubrag,* meaning 'Thump a table or similar, so that it makes the noise '*brag, brag'*. It is used here to mean 'heavy, solid'.

[75] **kuas*, apparently confusing *kuat* 'strong' and *luas* 'broad'.

middle class // ternyata kita itu adalah *the selected privileged few*, //
evident we that be

gitu lo. // Yang lain-lain tidak. // Gitu loh // Dan sebagian
thus *dp* [others] not thus *dp* and a.part

besar tidak, // uda gitu. // Dan gue dari SMP uda baca
big not already thus and I from *SMP* already read

tentang Kedung Ombo,[76]// dari SD gue uda baca tentang,
about K O from *SD* I already read about

tentang aa Santa Cruz.[77]// Jadi gue bener-bener yang – // gue itu //
about S C so I really which I that

dan kakak-kakak gue dan adik gue tu // bener-bener
and older.sisters my and younger.sister my that really

be- // aa bener-bener besar dengan wawasan politik, // wawasan
really big with outlook political outlook

yang sangat luas // yang .. gue rasa itu untungnya gue //
which very broad which I feel that good.luck-*nya* my

ketika gua bandingkan dengan temen-temen gue yang mungkin //
when I compare with friends my which perhaps

aa tingkat pengetahuannya dalam hal seperti itu, // as- aa
level knowledge-*nya* in matter like that

terutama ketika jamannya Suharto, // itu sangat kerdil.
especially when time-*nya* S that very stunted

A: Apakah itu juga yang membuat elo sekarang jadi mahasiswi
whether that also which make you now be student

yang terbilang aktivis kampus?
which counted activist campus

B: Gue bilang kalo seandainya aktivis kampus juga nggak. //
I say if supposing activist campus also not

Maksud gue, // apa si, apa si istilah aktipis itu, gitu lo. //
meaning my what *dp* what *dp* term activist that thus *dp*

Apakah karena lo terlihat sat- di dalam satu-dua demo lo
whether because you seen [in] one-two demo you

jadi aktivis? // Gue rasa // aa: .. mungkin gini, // kalo seandai
be activist I feel possibly like.this if supposing

gue terdorong untuk melakukan tindakan-tindakan yang dianggap
I prompted to take actions which considered

---

[76] Kedung Ombo: Reference to a dam built in Java during the Suharto era which significantly disadvantaged local peasants.

[77] Santa Cruz: Reference to a massacre by Indonesian troops in East Timor in 1991.

pihak kampus // aam sebage radikal, // aam .. itu mungkin adalah //
side campus as radical that perhaps be

karena gue diajarin ama orangtua gua juga untuk kritis
because I taught by parents my also to critical

gitu lo. // Jadi' tidak hanya nerima. // Aa ngga cuma di
thus *dp* so not only accepting not only in

politik di luar gitu lo, // maksud gue, // apa gunanya
politics [outside] thus *dp* meaning my what use-*nya*

anak-anak kit- // anak-anak mahasiswa pergi ke luar dan
kids our [students] go to outside and

berdemo-demo ria, // kalo [unclear] dalam kampusnya sendiri
demonstrate cheerfully if in campus-their own

tidak demokratis. // Jadi // [unclear] ya mungkin // aa pendapat lo
not democratic so *dp* possible opinion your

juga bener sih, // gue bilang. // Mungkin gara-gara itu juga,
also true *dp* I say possibly because.of that also

gitu lo. // Karena da- aa // gue tidak diajarkan untuk diam diri,
thus *dp* because I not taught to [be quiet]

dari kecil. // Gue diajarkan untuk memprotes, // bahkan kepada
from little I taught to protest moreover to

orangtua gue sendiri, // gitu lo kalo salah. // Kadang-kadang
parents my own thus *dp* if wrong sometimes

malah waktu kecil tuh bokap gue memancing, // memancing
further when little that dad my provoke provoke

ana-anaknya untuk, // untuk berpikir dengan memberikan *order-order*
children-his to to think with give

yang tidak masuk akal // dan menunggu sampe kita
which not [make sense] and wait until we

marah-marah, // gitu, anak-anaknya, gitu lo. // Jadi' // ketika
very.angry thus children-his thus *dp* so when

orangtua gua juga mengajarkan gua untuk bersikap berani
parents my also teach me to have.attitude dare

mengungkapkan pendapat gue // dan berani bertindak akan apa
express opinion my and dare act in what

yang gua rasa bener, // itu yang gua bawa sampe
which I feel true that which I carry until

sekarang. // Idealis sekali ye?
now idealistic very *dp*

A: Oke, kalo sekarang gini de, // gua mo tanya. // Kalo
OK if now like.this *dp* I want ask if

menurut lo sendiri // kegiatan mahasiswa kampus ini, //
according.to you self activity student campus this

maksudnya anak-anak mahasiswa Atma Jaya ini // yang ya //
meaning-*nya* [students] A J this which *dp*

bisa dibilang kan aga-agak aktif dalam hal // aam kegiatan
can be.said *dp* rather active in matter activity

di luar kampusnya ya, // yang dalam demonstrasi dan
[outside] campus-*nya* *dp* which in demonstration and

lain-lain, // elu memandang hal itu seperti apa?
other you view matter that like what

B: Gua juga // gua bingung nih. // Kalo seandainya anak-anak soal
I also I confused this if supposing kids matter

demonstrasi, // gua rasa itu adalah hak setiap orang, //
demonstration I feel that be right each person

setiap orang itu // aa mempunyai hak untuk mengekspresikan
each person that has right to express

dirinya dengan berbage macam cara. // Gue nggak // gua nggak
self with [all sorts of] way I not I not

stuju bahwa anak-anak yang tidak demonstrasi dianggap tidak
agree that kids who not demonstrate considered not

perduli. // Gua menganggap bahwa anak-anak yang demonstrasi
care I consider that kids who demonstrate

ataupun tidak demonstrasi, // mereka mempunyai kadar kepedulian
or not demonstrate they have degree care

yang bisa' // diungkapkan dalam berbagai cara' gitu. // Jadi mol-,
which can expressed in various way thus so

jadi buat gue // aa kalo lo nanya tentang apa pendapat
so for me if you ask about what opinion

gua tentang demonstrasi, // ya terserah mereka, // gitu loh. //
my about demonstrations *dp* up.to them thus *dp*

Kalo seandainya mereka mo mengungkapkan dengan demonstrasi //
if supposing they want express with demonstration

ya terserah // gitu. // Yang gue sama sekali tidak setuju // dan ya-
dp up.to.them thus what I [not at all] agree and

yang selama ini yang membuat gue agak-agak bangga ama
which [up to now] which make me rather proud about

Atma adalah // bahwa ketika begitu banyak varsitas yang
A is that when so many universities which

demonstrasi dengan cara yang sangat-sangat kasar, // dengan cara
demonstrate with way which very.very crude with way

yang sangat memprovokasi // untuk terjadinya keributan //
which very provocative to happen-*nya* disturbance

dan itu gua bener-bener, // gua bener-bener merasa bahwa
and that I really I really feel that

itu kurang ajar banget. // Mereka nggak peduli ama ma-
that [vulgar] very they not care about

masyarakat di sekitar mereka, // mereka nggak perduli dengan *image*
community [around] them they not care about

yang dilihat dari masyarakat mereka sehingga // aa .. ketika
which seen by community their so.that when

mereka demonstrasi orang sudah tidak melihat lagi pesan
they demonstrate people already not see any.more message

mereka apa, // mereka cuma degdegan, // 'Ya Allah Tuhan, //
their what they only heart.pounding *dp* God God

kapan kita bakal digebukin? // Kapan ma- ma- mahasiswa-mahasiswa
when we will be.thumped when students

ini bakal bakar-bakaran?' // Teng[78] gue bangga ama Atma Jaya
this will go.about.burning [that's what] I proud of A J

adalah bawa // aa anak-anak Atma Jaya pada umumnya masih
is that kids AJ [in general] still

megang ANV, // *active non violence*, // gitu lo, bahwa // *we will never*
hold.to thus *dp* that

resort to violence except // ee *when it is necessary to do so. // When*, em .. // *when we have to defend ourselves, // then we'll resort to violence // only if it is r:eally r:eally, // you know when it's really really dangerous for us or not to defend ourselves. //*

Karena yang gua tau adalah di Atma Jaya
because what I know is at AJ

sendiri, // anak-anaknya ini tuh diajarin kalo seandeinya
self kids-*nya* this that taught if supposing

emang demo uda mulai bahaya, lari! // Mundur, gitu
indeed demo already begin danger run draw.back thus

loh. // Emang si mending mundur sekarang daripada lo mati
dp indeed *dp* better withdraw now rather.than you die

---

[78] Possibly meaning *itu yang* 'that's what'.

sekarang. // Elo mati sekarang tu kan lo nggak bisa
now you die now that *dp* you not can

ngapa-ngapain lagi abis itu gitu loh.
do.anything more after that thus *dp*

Dan .. // ya itu yang gue liat. // Git- ee kalo seandainya
and *dp* that which I see if supposing

tentang kegiatan demo Atma sampe sekarang ya, // yang gue
about activity demo A until now *dp* what I

liat seperti itu, bawa // berapa pun masanya, // kita nggak
see like that that [no matter how many] mass-*nya* we not

pernah mo *violence*. // Kalo seandainya kita *violent* pertama, // ato
ever want if supposing we first or

nggak itu di-*provoke* oleh ee varsitas lain, // atau aa yang
not that provoked by university other or what

gua sempet yang gua liat di Semanggi Satu, Semanggi Dua, //
I chance which I see at S S S D

kita bener-bener cuma karena bela diri gitu loh. // Kalo
we really only because defend self thus *dp* if

kita udah mo dibacokin ama pamswakarsa[79] dan kita
we already want slashed by and we

dikepung, // misalnya kayak Semanggi Satu gitu loh. // Kita
surrounded for.instance like S S thus *dp* we

dikepung ama ee ama polisi di sebelah kiri, // sebelah
surrounded by by police on side left side

kanan pamswakarsa dateng pake golok. // Ye .. kalo seandainya
right vigilante come use machete *dp* if supposing

kita nggak // kita ngga ngapa-ngapain itu juga geblek // gitu
we not we not do.anything that also stupid thus

loh. // Itu na itu dah pake bener-bener *pure survival instinct*. //
dp that *dp* that already use really

Gua nggak bisa bilang bahwa itu kita yang *provoke*.
I not can say that that we who

Yang gua nggak setuju kan misalnya seperti kayak
what I not agree *dp* for.example like like

Forkot-Forkot[80] sekarang ini, gitu loh. // Yang mereka – //
F-F now this thus *dp* what they

---

[79] *Pamswakarsa: pengaman swakarsa* 'volunteer peacemakers'. Suharto era government-organised gangs used to break up demonstrations.

orang kagak ada apa-apa // mereka melempar batu duluan
people [nothing is happening] they throw stone first

ke, ke aparat gitu lo. // Atau .. nggak ada apa-apa mereka
at at officials thus *dp* or [nothing is happening] they

bakar ban. // Nggak ada apa-apa mereka nyari mobil polisi
burn tyre [nothing is happening] they seek car police

untuk, untuk di- aa // mobil-mobil yang dari kepolisian, // mobil
to to cars which from police.force car

dinas untuk dibakar. // Itu kan tolol, // gitu loh. // Itu kan
official to be.burnt that *dp* stupid thus *dp* that *dp*

sama aja – // kemudian orang akan melihatnya, // apa yang
same just after people will see-*nya* what which

masuk ke koran cobalah? // *Violence*-nya, // bukan pesennya. //
enter to newspaper please-*lah* -*nya* not message-*nya*

Apa yang mereka tuntut juga jadi *blur*. // Masyarakat uda
what which they demand also become community already

keburu takut duluan, gitu lo. // .. Seperti itu.
rush afraid first thus *dp* like that

A: Kalo lu liat sendiri Vi, // keaktifan mahasiswa Atma Jaya //
if you see self V involvement student A J

dengan kegiatan-kegiatan ini // seberapa jauh sih mereka terlibat?
with activity this how far *dp* they involved

B: Secep- seberapa jau mereka terlibat // aam .. laen-laen yah. // [unclear][81]
how far they involved various *dp*

gue ya setiap setiap anak-anaknya mempunyai *degree* keterlibatan
I *dp* each each kid-*nya* have involvement

berbedalah, // gitu lo. // Gue akan mengatakan delapan pulu
different-*lah* thus *dp* I will say [80]

persen anak Atma Jaya bahkan tidak tau apa-apa. //
percent kid A J moreover not know anything

Bahkan // gue bisa mengatakan bahwa tuju pulu persen,
moreover I can say that [70] percent

delapan pulu persen angkatan At- Atma Jaya adalah anti demo ya. //
[80] percent cohort A J be anti demo *dp*

---

[80] *Forkot*: *Forum komunikasi mahasiswa se-Jabotabek* 'All-Jabotek students' communication forum'. *Jabotabek* is an abbreviation for *Jakarta-Bogor-Tangerang-Bekasi*, the area covering Jakarta and the surrounding towns.

[81] Probably saying *setahu (gue)* 'as far as (I) know'.

Kemudian kalo meliat rame-rame di luar // akan segera pulang, //
then if see crowding [outside] will at.once go.home

ke rumah masing-masing. // Dua puluh persen akan, akan, akan
to house each [20] percent will will will

demo // tapi .. lo akan kemudian menanyakan dari dua pulu
demonstrate but you will after ask of [20]

persen tu siapa si yang bener-bener tau dan bukan
percent that who *dp* who really know and not

karena *excitement*-nya, // bukan modelnya,[82] // ato bukan karena
because *-nya* not model-*nya* or not because

mereka latar belakangnya adalah aa // tukang tawuran yang berharap
they [background-*nya*] be [street fighter] who hope

akan // kemudian mel- melakon itu lagi; // gue juga ngak
will after act.out that again I also not

ngerti. // Ah .. keterlibatan anak Atma Jaya sejauh ini // yang gue
understand involvement kid A J [as far as this] what I

liat adalah yah – // toh kita mempunyai Kamsi,[83] // kita
see be *dp* yet we have K we

mempunyai Famred,[84] // ah kita punya forum sendiri bersama
have F we have forum own with

mahasiswa-mahasiswa selain na[85] se-visi. // Ya: .. // gue liat
students other who one.vision *dp* I see

ya se- segitu aja sih keterlibatannya, gitu loh. // Yang
dp thus just *dp* involvement-*nya* thus *dp* what

gue liat anak-anak Atma Jaya itu sendiri tidak ngoyo[86]//
I see kids A J that self not endeavour

dan mereka sendiri // aa sangat berusaha supaya mereka
and they self very try so.that they

bener-bener di gerakan mahasiswa // tapi nggak jadi, //
really in movement student but not be

nggak jadi calo politik, // gitu lo. // Be- bebrapa ada, //
not be agent political thus *dp* several be

---

82 Possibly meaning 'because they are that type (of student)'.

83 *Kamsi*: *Kelompok aksi mahasiswa seluruh Indonesia* 'All-Indonesia students' action group'.

84 *Famred*: *Forum aksi mahasiswa revolusioner demokratik* 'Democratic revolutionary student's action forum'.

85 Meaning to say *yang* 'which'.

86 *tidak ngoyo* means 'not exert oneself'. She possibly means that students of Atma Jaya University do not endeavour to associate themselves with political parties or other outside groups who have different motives for action.

bebrapa	forum	yang	sangat	jadi	calo	politik. //	Tapi	ya
several	forum	which	very	be	agent	political	but	*dp*

untungnya //	anak-anak	Atma Jaya	itu, //	pada umumnya, //	
fortunately-*nya*	kids	A J	that	[in general	]

pembesar-pembesarnya	ini, //	yang	paling-paling	aktif	gini, //	
leaders-*nya*	this	who	most	active	like.this	

tidak	cenderung	untuk	menjadi, //	untuk	membarterkan	statusnya
not	inclined	to	be	to	barter	status-their

Atma Jaya ke-	kepada //	ya ah	salah satu, //	misalnya	salah satu	
A J	to	*dp*	[one of the]	for.instance	[one of the]	

partai //	ato	salah satu apa. //		Kita	bener-bener	menjaga
party	or	[one of the whatever]		we	really	guard

pure-ritas //	dari	masa	kita //	dan	itu	yang	gua	
purity	of	group	our	and	that	which	I	

bener-bener, //	[unclear]	gua	bener-bener	sampe	sekarang //	gue		
really		I	really	until	now	I		

bener-bener	ngerasa	bahwa	itu	unggulnya	Atma Jaya //
really	feel	that	that	superiority-*nya*	A J

sampe	sekarang	ini.
until	now	this

Interview [17] translation

A: This is Yuli. I'm still at Hall C and now I'm about to interview the person who's next to me. Her name's Avi. Hi Avi, how are you?

B: I'm fine.

A: Well, now Avi, could you please tell me everything about yourself?

B: Well, apart from the fact that I'm a human being who's been single for a year and has no prospects of going anywhere, I'm 22 years old and I was born in Jakarta. When I was four years old I went to Batakland, in North Sumatra, with my parents. I lived there with my parents and my older sisters in Siborong-borong, North Sumatra. I lived there for two years. Then I came back again, continuing my study in primary school, junior high and senior high. Then after that, when I was in second year of high school I went to Australia on a scholarship. I stayed there for two years and then returned here to study at Atma Jaya. My parents – there's six years difference in my parents' ages – they both work for NGOs. So I was born into a family that's very involved with community organisations. I have two older sisters. One's studying in Germany and the other one has become a junior .. uhm I don't know what it's called, could be called attorney, but she's not a lawyer. She's a company lawyer, not a civil lawyer.

A: Criminal?

B: Criminal. She's not a criminal lawyer. She now works in Kuningan. And I have a sister who's eight years younger than me and still in senior high school in Pangudi Luhur. She's in first year. So, that's it.

A: I think if you have parents who work for NGOs their way of educating their kids would certainly be very different from parents who just work in an office or whatever. Do you feel there's a difference, or not?

B: Well, if I have to feel what the difference is it'd be very difficult. Because, you see I've never had a system for making a comparison. All I know is that if they're compared with other families from North Sumatra, my family would be considered liberal. I mean, my sisters and I were never required to obey my parents totally. Since I was little I've been given the right to question and protest against their decisions. Also I was never steered into just one field of study, so in high school where so many Batak families require their children to take natural science, I was allowed to do social science and other things. Even though eventually I took science when – I should have in second year except I moved to Australia. And I wasn't told what career to choose, I wasn't told to go to university. There were all sorts of things I wasn't ordered to do. So my family's very free within certain limits. If I compare it with other Batak families, those families are so – how would you say? – they're very limiting. They're very – for instance, if you're a woman, well women in traditional Batak families are very much repressed, very dominated, very much unappreciated. But in my family, on the other hand, women have equal status with men. So it's really, really – my parents don't think that because their children are female they can't have a tertiary education, or because they're female my sisters have to get married, for instance, even though one of my sisters is already 26 years old. So, there's real equality and they really respect the rights of all of us and, well, we're also taught to be independent. So from the time we were 17 years old , my parents told us to go out and find (part-time) work.

And he said, 'Well, if you think you're already grown-up, go out and find a job then.' Or for instance if it's about a decision whether to smoke or not. Other parents would be screaming about not smoking, and finally their children would smoke secretly outside, right? But my parents aren't like that. They're more like, 'You make your own decision. If you want to smoke, wait until you're working. After you start working if you still want to smoke, it's up to you. You can burn your own money.' So, my parents really are very liberal, if the measure is the Batak standard. But if I look at it from the point of view of their work compared with other parents who have different jobs I can't differentiate because I've never considered such a comparison, you see.

A: Now Vi, both your parents work for NGOs, don't they. I mean do their jobs somehow influence you personally? I mean make you more socialist or something like that?

B: Whether I'm more socialistic, I don't know. But uhm …

A: Has it had an influence, or not?

B: Maybe, you see, since I was little – so if we look back to the New Order period in Indonesia, there were so many Indonesian children who believed in the history taught to them in school, which was rammed down their throats in school, and so on. Perhaps what was most beneficial for me was that I was never indoctrinated in the same way at home. So my parents put the emphasis on my cognitive development, especially in the political and social fields. They really kept me informed about whatever was happening. So, for instance, when there was the Gulf War, or when Pramudya was jailed, or any other happening, they really told me objective history. So I think, even when Indonesia was really doing well economically, at home I was still being taught not to believe in the government, and to see the corruption of the government, and so on. And my family really taught me to read. So when other children were reading literature like Bobo magazine, and when they were teenagers reading Femina or Gadis magazine, and so on, I was taught instead to read books by Pramudya and Alexander Hasnoch. I read very weighty books, which for other people were off limits. So that's all, I think.

So when we were growing up my parents' children grew up with a – what would you say – a very broad socio-political outlook, a broad psychoanalytic outlook, and what else? A broad philosophical outlook. So we aren't small-minded people. I feel that's the effect of my parents' background because they're so – what would you say? Because they were really very much involved in counter-government actions, in actions to defend workers, defend women, defend children and that really had implications for us so that we didn't grow up blind to the suffering around us, that we as middle-class people are the select privileged few. Others aren't like that, the majority of them aren't. And from junior high school I've read about Kedung Ombo, from my time in primary school I've read about Santa Cruz. So I really – I and my sisters really have a very broad political outlook. And I feel that's my good fortune when I compare myself with my friends who possibly – well, the level of their knowledge about these matters, especially in the Suharto period, is very stunted.

A: Was it also that which made you became someone who's considered a student activist?

B: I don't think I'd call myself as a student activist. I mean, what's the meaning of activist actually? Is it because you're seen in one or two demos you become an activist? I think perhaps if I'm prompted to take actions which are considered by this university to be radical, that's maybe because I've been taught by my parents to be critical, not to just passively accept things. And it's not only about politics outside. I mean, what's the point of our students going outside to demonstrate merrily if for instance our own campus isn't democratic. So, yes maybe your opinion could be true, I think. Maybe because of the fact that since I was little I was never taught to be quiet. I was taught to object, even to my own parents if they were wrong. Sometimes when we were young my dad would provoke his children to think by giving unreasonable orders and waiting until we got angry. So when my parents taught me to express my opinions bravely and to act bravely in what I felt was right, that's what I carry with me until now. Very idealistic, eh?

A: Now, I want to ask you this. What do you think about the activities of the students of this university? I mean, Atma Jaya university students, who could be said to be rather active in activities outside the campus, in demonstrations and other things? How do you view these things?

B: Well, I'm confused about that. If we're talking about those kids going out on demonstrations, I think that's everyone's right. Everyone has the right to express themselves in various ways. I don't agree that those students who don't go out demonstrating are indifferent. I think that students who demonstrate or don't demonstrate have the same level of concern, which can be expressed in different ways. So for me, if you ask my opinion about demonstrating, well it's up to them. If they want to express themselves by demonstrating then it's up to them. What I absolutely don't agree with, that has made me rather proud of Atma Jaya, is that many universities demonstrate in a very crude way, in a very provocative way, which leads to trouble. I really feel that that is really vulgar. They don't care about the community around them, they don't care what image the community has of them, so when they're demonstrating people don't see their message, they just get nervous (thinking) 'Oh, God, when are we going to get thumped? When are these students going to start burning everything?' Why I feel proud of Atma Jaya is that in general Atma Jaya students still hold to ANV, active non violence; that we will never resort to violence except when it is necessary to do so. When we have to defend ourselves, then we'll resort to violence only if it's really really, you know, when it's really really dangerous for us or (dangerous) not to defend ourselves. Because I know that in Atma Jaya itself students are taught that if the situation in a demonstration has started to get dangerous they should run! They have to retreat. It's certainly better to retreat now than die now. If you die now you can't do anything else afterwards.

And yes, that's how I see it. And if there's any demonstration in which Atma Jaya students take part, up until now, so far as I've seen, no matter how big the mob is, we never want violence. And if we are violent first, either it's provoked by other universities – as I was able to see in Semanggi One and Semanggi Two – we are really only doing it because we have to defend ourselves. If we're about to get slashed by government vigilantes and we are surrounded, as happened in Semanggi One, where we were surrounded by police on the left side and from the right side came government vigilantes with machetes. Well, if we didn't do anything that would be stupid. And we were using pure survival instinct. I can't say that it was we who provoked it.

What I disagree with is for instance what Forkot did recently to people who were doing nothing. They threw stones at officials. Or when nothing was happening they burned tyres. Or when nothing was happening they looked for police cars and official cars to burn. That's stupid. It's just the same with – and then when people see them what's going to be written in the papers? It's their violence, not their message. What they're demanding just becomes a blur. The people flee in fear. That's how it is.

A: From your own perspective, Vi, how far do these Atma Jaya students really get involved in these kind of activities?

B: How far are they involved? Well, In different ways, I think. As far as I know, every student has a different degree of involvement from every other. I'd say eighty percent of Atma Jaya students don't even understand anything about it. I'd even say that seventy to eighty percent of Atma Jaya students are anti-demonstration. If they see crowds outside they go home right away. Twenty percent will go to demonstrations but if you then ask who of that twenty percent really understands and isn't (there) just for the excitement, or because they are that type, or because they come from a background of street fighting and think they'll reenact their fighting, I don't know. The involvement of Atma Jaya students up till now, as far as I can see – well, we have Kamsi, we have Famred, we have our own forums together with students from other universities with a common vision. From what I see Atma Jaya students don't exert themselves and they really try hard to be in the student movement without being political agents. There are a number of forums which really have become political tools. But fortunately Atma Jaya students generally, (especially) the leaders, the most active ones, are not inclined to barter away the status of Atma Jaya to, for instance, one of the (political) parties or whatever it is. We really guard the purity of our people and that's what up to now I really feel is the superior thing about Atma Jaya.

4.5 Interview [19]

Two speakers:

A: R, 47, female, member of academic staff, Atma Jaya University

B: Yuli, 23, female, interviewer and recorder

The interview was in R's office on 10 January 2001. The opening is somewhat formal and courteous. The interviewee speaks rather slowly and quite fluently. Her story is at times somewhat discursive and not always chronological.

The interviewee's full name is omitted. She is addressed as *ibu* 'mother' by the interviewer, glossed here as 'you'.

B:	Selamat pagi. // Ah	sekarang	saya	ada	di	ruangannya	Ibu R J, //	
	[good morning]	now	I	be	in	room-*nya*	Mrs R J	
	kepala PPB	yang	baru. // Aa	Slamat pagi,		Bu R.		
	head	who	new	[good morning]		Mrs R		
A:	Selamat pagi	Yulianti.						
	[good morning]	Y						
B:	Apa kabar	Bu'?						
	[how are you]	Ma'am						

A: Eh, baik-baik aja tuh. // Gimana?
[very well] that [how is it]

B: Ah gini Bu. // Saya mo *interview* Ibu ni. // Bisa nggak Ibu
like.this Ma'am I want you this can not you

cerita kira-kira dari kehidupan Ibu dari kecil sampe sekarang?
tell perhaps from life your from little until now

A: A:m gini Yulianti. // Saya itu kan lahir taun lima pulu tiga,
like.this Y I that *dp* born year [53]

ya. // *Long time ago*. // Lima pulu tiga itu, // skarang sudah umur
dp [53] that now already age

empat pulu tuju tahun ya? // Udah, udah tua, // uda nenek-nenek. //
[47] year *dp* already already old already old.woman

Lalu, saya mulei di: – // saya dilahirkan dari sua- satu keluarga
then I begin at I born of one family

yang sangat besar // dengan orangtua yang punya anak
which very big with parents who have child

dua belas anak. // Lalu ayah saya itu seorang miskin ya, //
[12] child then father my that a.person poor *dp*

dalam arti, aa saya datang dari keluarga miskin. // Ayah ibu
in meaning I come from family poor father mother

saya itu. // Ibu saya tukang ju- // tukang kue. // Malu kan?
my that mother my seller [cake seller] embarrassed *dp*

[Hanya …[laughing]
only

B: [Nggak pa-pa.
[it doesn't matter]

A: Tukang kue keliling, gitu ya. // Tukang kue keliling dan ayah
[cake seller] go.around thus *dp* [cake seller] go.around and father

saya itu juga // aa mungkin kalo sekarang itu tukang loak, ya? //
my that also perhaps if now that [junk collector] *dp*

bilangnya ya? // yang di pinggir jalan itu ya. // Lalu dia punya
say-*nya* *dp* who at side road that *dp* then he have

anak dua belas. // Lalu a: .. // setiap anak itu diajar untuk
child [12] then each child that taught to

mandiri. // Untuk sendiri-sendiri // pokoknya cari makan,
be.independent to individually thing.is seek food

gitu yah. // Supaya *survive*. // Tapi ada satu hal yang saling
thus *dp* so.that but be one thing which reciprocal

men- // yang sampe skarang saya masih inget // bahwa orangtua
which until now I still remember that parents

saya mengatakan bahwa kepandaian itu tidak akan hilang. // Jadi
my say that skill that not will lost so

dia katakan // ee sekolah, // begitu. // Apapun harus sekolah, // begitu.
he say go.to.school thus whatever must go.to.school thus

Sehingga ee // kami mendapat contoh dari yang paling besar, //
so.that we get example from who most big

jadi anak yang paling besar, // skarang dia adalah genikolog, // ee
so child who most big now he be gynecologist

spesialis kebidanan, // dan dia sukses sekali ya. // Ee dia: *senior*
specialist midwifery and he successful very *dp* he

begitu ya? // Bekas kepala rumah sakit Cireme, Cirebon,
thus *dp* former head [hospital] C C

dan sebagainya. // Dia tentara ya. // Karna memang di tentara itu
[and so on] he army *dp* because indeed in army that

kan dikasi makan ya, // dikasi uang lauk pauk dan sebagainya. //
dp given food *dp* given money [foodstuffs] [and so on]

Jadi dia kuliah di UI, // itu menjadi panutan kita semua. //
so he go.to.lecture at *UI* that be model us all

Yang paling besar // ee jadi panutan. // Dia kuliah di UI
who most big be model he go.to.lecture at *UI*

dan kami tinggal di Bogor. // Dan dia harus naek kereta api
and we live in B and he must travel.by [train]

untuk ke UI, // dan setelah ee // sampe, sampe dia lulus itu
in.order to *UI* and after until until he pass that

kami masih miskin, // nggak punya apa-apa. // Dia paling-paling naik
we still poor not have anything he at.most ride

sepeda, gitu ya. // Lalu // ee kalo saya liat fotonya tuh saya
bicycle thus *dp* then if I see photo-*nya* that I

sedih beneran, // karna dia begitu kurusnya, // kecilnya begitu ya, //
sad really because he so thin-*nya* small-*nya* thus *dp*

tapi dia pengen selesei. // Begitu dia selesei dia masuk ee dinas
but he want finish as.soon.as he finish he enter service

militer ya. // Dinas militer, // waktu itu dia ditempatkan di
military *dp* service military time that he placed in

Kalimantan, kalo nggak salah. // Di Kalimantan itu dengan penuh
K if not wrong in K that with full

penderitaan dia lalui, dan dia kembali ke Jakarta. // Ah saya
suffering he pass and he return to J I

masi kecil. // Saya anak kesembilan. // Anak kesembilan dari dua belas
still little I child ninth child ninth of [12]

besodara. // Jadi waktu dia kembali itu, // adik-adiknya ikut
be.siblings so when he return that younger.siblings-his join

dengan dia, // walopun dia masih minim sekali. // Dia baru lulus, //
with him although he still minimal very he just pass

baru selesei, // datang ke Jakarta, // keadaan masih nggak punya //
just finish come to J condition still not have

tapi kita ikut, nebeng,[87] gitu yah? // Dibagi-bagi, // ade-adenya
but we join thus *dp* divided younger.siblings-*nya*

tu dibagi. // Ada yang ikut sana, // ada yang ikut sini, //
that divided be who join there be who join here

gitu. // Saya tu termasuk ikut dia. // Ee dia tuh tentara. // Jadi
thus I that included join him he that army so

waktu, // saya inget skali, waktu saya sudah mahasiswa, // aa
when I remember very when I already student

nanti kita *flash back* ke blakang ya? // waktu saya mahasiswa, //
will we to before *dp* when I student

itu ada peristiwa Malari, // jadi dia punya .. apa? // Dia ada mobil
that be affair M so he have what he have car

combi gitu, // jelek sekali ya, // masuk di Kramat, // oo
combi thus poor.state very *dp* enter in K *exc*

dilempari batu oleh mahasiswa atau oleh siapa // ngak ngerti. //
pelted stone by student or by whoever not understand

Dan dia begitu sedihnya karna dia pecah itu kacanya gitu. //
and he so sad-*nya* because he smashed that glass-*nya* thus

Dia nggak punya apa-apa gitu ya. // Na itu // aa kakak saya
he not have anything thus *dp* *dp* that older.brother my

nomor satu.
number one

Tapi itu jadi panutan saya, // terutama saya, // karna saya
but that be model my especially me because I

tinggal dengan kehidupan keras ya, // dalam arti dia punya
live with life hard *dp* in meaning he have

anak empat yang empat-empatnya sukses, // yang paling kecil dia
child four who all.four-*nya* successful who most little he

---

87 *nebeng* (base *tebeng*): eat/live at someone else's expense (Jakarta Malay); freeload.

di Amerika skarang. // aa .. apa? // Kehidupannya tuh kehidupan, //
in A now what life-*nya* that life

kehidupan miskin gitu. // Kehidupan nggak punya. // Jadi kami kalo
life poor thus life not have so we if

punya uang tuh // hanya bisa' aa // bisa untuk minum susu
have money that only can can for drink milk

segelas barangkali. [laughing] // Itu minum susu segelas juga' sulit
a.glass perhaps that drink milk a.glass also difficult

nyarinya ya? // Dengan makan yang tidak seperti sekarang, ya. //
find-*nya* *dp* with food which not like now *dp*

Jadi kami tu makan semua dibagi ya. // Jadi piring-piring tu
so we that food all shared *dp* so plates that

dibagi oleh ibu saya. // Piring-piring-piring, // isinya tu
divided by mother my plate.plate.plate contents-*nya* that

ada kentang dua biji, dua biji, dua biji gitu, // nggak
be potato two piece two piece two piece thus not

boleh nambah gitu lo. // Nggak bole nambah sama sekali. // Dan
may add thus *dp* not may add [at all] and

kakak saya paling besar ini, // yang, yang di fakultas
older.brother my most big this who who in faculty

kedokteran, // kan dia masih kuliah itu, // ngambil jeroan // ah
medicine and he still go.to.lecture that take innards

apa tuh, // yang dibuang di, di kali, // di got gitu, //
what that which thrown in in canal in gutter thus

dibuang, // diambil sama dia // disikat gitu lo. // Disikat
thrown.away picked.up by him brushed thus *dp* brushed

untuk dimasak gitu ya? // Itu dikasih ke ibu saya. //
in.order cooked thus *dp* that given to mother my

Ibu saya masak // lalu dibagi-bagi ke adik-adiknya
mother my cook then divided to younger.siblings-his

gitu. // Ke anak-anaknya. // Aa kehidupan kami bener-bener sangat,
thus to children-her *exc* life our really very

sangat ee miskin gitu, // nggak punya pa-pa.
very poor thus not have anything

Lalu // aa itu, itu pada diri saya juga ada sifat untuk
then that that in [myself] also be quality to

bageimana supaya saya bisa. // Tapi satu hal yang pasti itu //
how so.that I can but one matter which certain that

bahwa kami dididik untuk belajar. // Sekolah gitu, // karna
that we educated to study go.to.school thus because

sekolah tu nomor satu. // Nggak boleh nggak, ya. // Walopun
school that number one not may not *dp* although

dengan mengemis, // minta-minta untuk ee masuk sekolah gitu, //
with beg beg to enter school thus

tidak – // aa anak kan harus bayar. // Dan .. // lalu stela itu
not child *dp* must pay and then after that

udah, // saya tinggal sama kakak saya itu, // ee nggak – // ee
already I live with older.brother my that not

agak lama sedikit. // Setelah itu dia mulai karirnya maju dan
rather long a.little after that he begin career-his advance and

sebagainya, // mulai kita dibantu' // ee uang kuliah, // uang sekolah, //
so.on begin we helped [university expenses] [school expenses]

gitu ya. // Uang kuliah, // saya dapet uang skola, kuliah, // sehingga
thus *dp* [university expenses] I get [education expenses] so.that

waktu saya dapet beasiswa Supersemar dari Pak Harto itu, //
when I get scholarship S from Suharto that

saya tu ee // uang, uang sekolah saya tetep dibayarin // karna uang
I that [school fees] my still paid because money

Supersemar itu adalah uang saya gitu lo. // Jadi katanya,
S that be money my thus *dp* so word-his

'Itu kan jerih payah kamu. // IP[88] kamu kan' – // apa? //
that *dp* [effort] your GPA your *dp* what

'nilai kamu kan tinggi, // jadi kamu dapet, // itu hak kamu,' //
grade your *dp* high so you get that right your

gitu. // Tetep aja saya dikasi tuh. // Saya inget saya dapet
thus continue just I given that I remember I get

lima belas ribu dari Pak Harto, // dari Supersemar. // Jadi mulai
[15] thousand from Suharto from S so begin

pertama kali saya kulia tuh saya ditawari // karna aa stelah
first time I go.to.lecture that I offered because after

semester satu tu nilai saya cukup baik yah, // bagus-bagus, //
semester one that grade my enough good *dp* very.good

lalu saya ditawari saya dapet Supersemar.
then I offered I get S

Aa setela – // dan untuk saya sendiri, // saya melakukan – // aa
after and for me self I do

---

[88] *IP*: *Indeks Prestasi*, indication of university grade (or *GPA*).

mendapatkan pendidikan tu mulai dari TK ya, // sampai dengan
get education that begin from *TK* *dp* [up to]

SMA, // itu di Regina Pacis. // Regina Pacis. // Saya kebetulan Bogor
SMA that at R P R P I by.chance B

ya? // Jadi saya agak aktif di organisasi. // Jadi mulai
dp so I rather active in organisation so begin

dari ee // kalo ada pramuka ya saya ikut. // Di keagamaan
from if be girl.guides *dp* I join in religion

saya aktif juga. // Saya di – ee saya anggota Legio Maria,
I active too I in I member L M

misalnya. // Lalu untuk kegiatan-kegiatan *pastoral* saya ikut. // Lalu
for.instance then for activities I join then

untuk kegiatan-kegiatan organisasi ikut ya, // dari mulai kecil. // Ee
for activities organisation join *dp* from begin little

sampai-sampai saya tu bingung sendiri, // saya tu masi kecil
so.that I that confused self I that still little

gitu // tapi saya uda dikasi tanggung jawab apa gitu, //
thus but I already given [responsibility] whatever thus

macem-macem. // Masih kecil, kecil banget saya. // Aa: waktu itu ..
all.sorts still little little very I time that

saya itu // aa sampe' lulus SD trus mo masuk suster tadinya. //
I that until pass *SD* then want enter nun before-*nya*

Mo jadi suster nggak jadi gitu ya, // karna nggak boleh.
want be nun not become thus *dp* because not may

Terus ee terus masuk SMP. // Masuk SMP, // ee sudah SMP
then then enter *SMP* enter *SMP* after *SMP*

kita – // saya harusnya bekerja. // Saya ah mestinya bekerja, // karna
we I must-*nya* work I must-*nya* work because

memang saya nggak punya biaya gitu yah, // dan saya sudah
indeed I not have expenses thus *dp* and I already

daftar di tempat // yaitu untuk penjaga karcis bioskop ya, // aa di
sign.up at place that.is to guard ticket cinema *dp* at

Gunung Sahari. // Saya datang ke sana, // saya di-*interview*, // aa saya
G S I come to there I interviewed I

ditrima sih, // ditrima. // Cuma kerjanya itu harus malam, // lalu
accepted *dp* accepted only work-*nya* that must night then

berdiri depan pintu // memberikan karcis. // Kalo dulu kan nggak
stand in.front door give ticket if previous *dp* not

ada loket ya? // pake karcis di pintu gitu. // Saya uda
be window *dp* use ticket at door thus I already

ditrima, // sudah di-*interview*, // suda oke, // dan aa sudah ditrima
accepted already interviewed already OK and already accepted

gitu, // saya pikir lagi ya. // Ee itu kan kerjanya malem gitu ya, //
thus I think more *dp* that *dp* work-*nya* night thus *dp*

untuk penjaga karcis di bioskop. // Ah nggak jadi saya. // Trus
to guard ticket at cinema not happen I then

saya mulei cari-cari yang lain, // misalnya saya ee
I begin seek which other for.instance I

menawar-nawarkan itu, // apa? // bahan-bahan baju ya, // kalo aa
offer.for.sale that what materials clothes *dp* if

tetangga-tetangga gitu yang perlu, // jadi kredit // istilahnya tukang kredit,[89]
neighbours thus who need be credit term-*nya* [vendor]

ya. // Jadi saya ngambil dari orang, // lalu saya dapet ee dapet
dp so I get from person then I get get

komisi, gitu lo. // Kalo saya menjualkan sekian potong, // maka
commission thus *dp* if I sell so.much cloth then

saya dapet sekian gitu. // Itu saya lakukan. // Ee hal lain lagi
I get so.much thus that I do matter other more

yang saya lakukan selain – // waktu di SMP // saya juga' // ee //
which I do apart.from when in *SMP* I also

itu apa? // numbuk bata. // Kamu tau bata? // Bata itu adalah
that what crush brick you know brick brick that be

bata merah, // itu kalo dulu, // kalo orang bangunan itu //
brick red that if previous if person building that

kalo memerlukan bata // itu biasanya sudah hancur dan tidak
if need brick that usually already crushed and not

ada alat, // mungkin belum ada alat ato bagemana. // Jadi' kita
be tool perhaps not.yet be tool or how so we

gitu tu diminta untuk numbuk bata, // lalu nanti masukin kaleng. //
thus that asked to pound brick then soon put.in tin

Jadi kalo dibayar sekaleng berapa, gitu. // Kalo udah ditumbuk
so if paid a.tin so.much thus if already crushed

tuh nanti sekaleng berapa. // Itu saya lakukan. // Mm saya numbuk
that soon a.tin so.much that I do I pound

bata tu agak rajin ya // sampe saya pulang tuh saya
brick that rather diligent *dp* until I go.home that I

---

[89] *tukang kredit*: one who sells goods, which the buyer then pays for in installments.

bisa dapet banyak gitu. // Sampe ibu saya seneng juga liat
can get much thus until mother my happy also see

ini kok pinter gitu ya. // Tumbukin bata gitu lo, // saya
this *dp* clever thus *dp* crush brick thus *dp* I

inget sekali.
remember very

Terus ee kalo kakak saya yang laen, laen-laen. // Jadi
then if older.sibling my which other different so

ada yang jual asinan[90] gitu loh. // Ee .. ya malu sih
be who sell *asinan* thus *dp* *dp* embarrassed *dp*

kadang-kadang // karna orang laen uda pake mobil ya? // Ee
sometimes because person other already use car *dp*

nggak ada kerjaan kayak gitu loh, // temen-temen kita kan, // ya
not be work like that *dp* friends our *dp* *dp*

temen-temen saya kan orang-orang kaya gitu, // kadang-kadang kalo
friends my *dp* people rich thus sometimes if

ditanyain, // 'Rit, Rit, yuk kita berenang,' gitu. // Sedih saya pengen
asked R R *dp* we swim thus sad I want

berenang tapi nggak punya duit gitu ya? // Tapi ada yang
swim but not have money thus *dp* but be who

baik. // Yang saya inget sampe sekarang, // namanya Grace. //
good who I remember until now name-her G

Dia anak toko roti 'Lautan' di Bogor. // Dia suka memberikan
she child [bakery] L in B she like give

saya uang jajan. // Jadi kalo dia bilang, // kalo nemenin dia
me [pocket money] so if she say if accompany her

berenang, // saya dapat, gitu lo. // Jadi saya nemenin. // Sehingga
swim I get thus *dp* so I accompany to.extent

saya pinter, // pinter berenang. // Saya, saya tu pinter. // Di, di
I clever clever swim I I that clever in in

skola tu saya aktif ya? // Olahraga itu, // tenis meja saya
school that I active *dp* sport that [table tennis] I

pernah juara, // renang saya pernah juara, // tim volley saya
ever champion swim I ever champion [volley ball] I

ikut, // tim basket saya ikut, gitu lo. // Karna apa? // Kalo ikut-ikut
join [basket ball] I join thus *dp* because why if join.in

---

[90] *asinan* (base *asin* 'salt'): mixed vegetables with various seasonings and salt.

begitu tu // banyak temen-temen yang kaya-kaya gitu // yang kasi
thus that many friends who all.rich thus who give

traktir saya makan, gitu lo. // Kadang-kadang kan kita pengen
shout me eat thus *dp* sometimes *dp* we want

makan bakso,[91] misalnya, // 'Itu ya?' // Kalo renang tu Grace
eat *bakso* for.instance that *dp* if swim that G

yang mesti bayarin bakso saya, // karna saya pingin makan
who must buy *bakso* me because I want eat

bakso juga gitu ya? // Itu saya di SMA lo, // masi ditraktir
bakso also thus *dp* that I in *SMA* *dp* still shouted

bakso sama si Grace. // Lalu .. – // tapi saya anaknya agak
bakso by *dim* G then but I child-*nya* rather

pandei. // Saya nggak, nggak bodo gitu ya, // lumayan deh
clever I not not stupid thus *dp* quite *dp*

agak pandai. // Jadi ee saya kebetulan waktu itu masuk ke
rather clever so I happen.to time that enter to

bagian paspal[92] ya? // pasti-alam.[93]
section *dp*

[section omitted]

B: Nyanyi?
sing

A: Iya, saya penyanyi dulunya. [laughing] // Saya dulu penyanyi. // Ee
yes I singer previously-*nya* I previously singer

karna saya pe- ee juara gitu lo. // Kan dulu kan ada
because I champion thus *dp* *dp* previously *dp* be

pertandingan // misalnya antar apa gitu, // saya ikut. // Jadi
competition for.instance between whatever thus I join so

misalnya ada kelompok // ee keluarga Sulawesi Selatan ngadakan
for.instance be group family S South hold

pertandingan, // ee biasanya kami itu di- diundang. // Jadi orang-orang
competition usually we that invited so people

diundang ikut nyanyi gitu. // Saya tu menang, // nyanyi gitu yah. //
invited join sing thus I that win sing thus *dp*

Trus saya juga ikut untuk eh itu apa? // Ee .. ratu kebaya[94]
then I also join to that what queen *kebaya*

---

91 *bakso*: a kind of soup containing meat balls.
92 *paspal*: *ilmu pasti dan pengetahuan alam* 'maths and natural sciences'.
93 *pasti-alam*: abbreviation. See note 92.
94 *kebaya*: a kind of traditional women's blouse.

gitu yah, // saya menang juga. // Gitu-gitu aja. // Terus sampei
thus *dp* I win also and.so.on just so.on until

setelah ratu kebaya menang, // saya diminta' untuk jadi *cover*
after queen *kebaya* win I asked to be

majalah, ya. // Majalahnya 'Detektif Romantika', // saya inget sekali
magazine *dp* magazine-*nya* [*Romantic Detective*] I remember very

itu. // Terus difoto di atas motor yah // gitu difoto
that then photographed [on] motor.bike *dp* thus photographed

gitu, // cuma waktu itu abis difoto gitu, // walopun saya dapet
thus only time that finish photographed thus although I get

duit, ayah saya nggak setuju. // Dia katakan suruh stop yah, //
money father my not agree he say order stop *dp*

karna seperti itu nggak bagus gitu loh. // Karna dia // ee
because like that not good thus *dp* because he

mau – boleh cari uang tapi yang bagus gitu lo. // Dan // – ee
want may seek money but what good thus *dp* and

terus terang aja waktu saya suruh[95] pegang pistol di atas motor
[frankly] just when I ordered hold pistol [on] motorbike

itu, // baju saya suruh dibuka sedikit, // jadi ada – // dadanya
that jacket my ordered open a.little so be breast-*nya*

suruh buka sedikit. // Saya nggak mau. // Dari situ, stop saya. //
ordered open a.little I not want from there stop I

Jadi nggak – // ada keluar 'Detektif Romantika' // tapi untuk yang
so not be appear *Romantic Detective* but for which

buka-bukaan saya nggak jadi gitu, // karna saya nggak boleh.
naked I not be thus because I not allowed

Lalu .. // *well* saya mulai mengajar di ee .. skolah dasar, //
then I begin teach at [primary school]

skolah dasar, // taun tuju pulu tiga'. // Saya mengajar di skolah dasar
[primary school] year [73] I teach in [primary school]

taun tuju pulu tiga, // a: .. apapun begitu ya, // karna sekola dasar
year [73] whatever thus *dp* because [primary school]

itu dapat memberikan uang kepada saya, // itu aja. // Jadi
that can give money to me that just so

alasan hanya itu aja sebetulnya // tapi .. bukan, bukan, bukan
reason only that just actually but not not not

---

[95] Here and in following occurrences of *suruh* she means *disuruh* 'ordered'; see §2.9, example (175).

karena saya mau ngajar, gitu loh. // Saya mo cari uang .. //
because I want teach thus *dp* I want seek money

untuk hidup ya, // bukan cari uang pengen kaya gitu, // untuk
to live *dp* not seek money want rich thus to

hidup aja. // Lalu ee: .. // saya juga ngelesin ke mana-mana ya, //
live just then I also teach to everywhere *dp*

pake payung, // ujan-ujanan gitu, // karna saya nggak, // nggak bisa
use umbrella walk.in.rain thus because I not not can

naek kendaraan kan, // jadi saya pake payung // jalan. // Saya
ride vehicle *dp* so I use umbrella walk I

ngajar di SD itu di daerah Pasar Baru, // ee itu ngajarnya
teach in *SD* that in area P B that teach-*nya*

pagi, // trus sorenya saya masih ngajar di Jalan Gondongan
morning then evening-*nya* I still teach in Road G

itu, // di daerah – di Bogor itu, // ada Jalan Gondongan. // Jadi
that in area in B thus be Road G so

saya pulang naek bis, // sampe di terminal saya naek bemo,[96] //
I go.home ride bus until in terminal I ride *bemo*

trus saya ke rumah orang dan saya selalu membawa payung //
then I to house person and I always carry umbrella

untuk ee apa? // kalo hujan saya bisa pake payung gitu yah, //
to what if rain I can use umbrella thus *dp*

nggak usah ujanan[97]. // Tapi saya jalan kaki itu, // ee:
[no need] caught.in.rain but I [walk] that

saya pernah tinggal di Gunung Sahari, // saya jalan kaki sampe ke
I ever live in G S I [walk] [to]

arah kota // hanya untuk ngelesin orang.
direction town just to teach person

B: Jauh amat.
far very

A: Dan hujan, // gitu yah. // Saya pake payung dan jalan kaki. // Ee saya
and rain thus *dp* I use umbrella and [walk] I

selalu hemat untuk itu // karna uang yang saya trima dari
always thrifty for that because money which I receive from

ngajar tu sedikit skali. // Nggak banyak. // Yang saya sampe
teach that a.little very not much when I arrive

dari terminal ke Bondongan[98] pun saya jalan kaki. // Pokoknya
from terminal to G even I [walk] thing.is

---

96 *bemo*: abbreviation of *becak bermotor* 'motorised *becak*', a small three-wheeled taxi.

97 *ujanan*: meaning *kehujanan* 'get caught in the rain'.

ke mana aja saya jalan kaki. // Mak- makanya sampe skarang kaki
[to wherever] I [walk] no.wonder until now foot

saya kuat skali. // Boleh saya banggakan pada kaki saya. //
my strong very may I boast about foot my

Serius, // kaki saya kuat skali. // Di usia saya ini, // kaki saya
seriously foot my strong very at age my this foot my

masih bisa' ke sana-sini ya. // Mungkin karna dulu
still can to here.and.there *dp* perhaps because previously

olaraga kaki itu. // Lalu saya pernah juga waktu saya ngelesin
sport foot that then I ever also when I give.lesson

pake mikrolet,[99] // jala- ee naek mikrolet // dari: ee: satu tempat, // kalo
use *mikrolet* ride *mikrolet* from one place if

nggak salah daerah Sawah Besar. // Itu di belakang itu ada mobil, //
not wrong area S B that [behind] that be car

mobil ngikutin saya. // Ee ngikutin saya, // mungkin dia orang kaya
car follow me follow me perhaps he person rich

yah, // dan saya kan agak cakep gitu dulu.
dp and I *dp* rather good.looking thus previously

B Eh, yalah. // Model dulu!
yes-*lah* model previously

A: Dulu agak cakep gitu. [laughter] // Jadi dari blakang
before rather good.looking thus so from behind

[tu dia kasi lampu …
that he give light

B: [Sampe sekarang juga masih Bu.
until now also still Ma'am

A: Dia kasi lampu, // suru saya turun. // Dia kasi tanda gitu
he give lamp order me get.out he give sign thus

supaya saya pindah ke mobilnya. // Sebetulnya enak kan gitu yah? //
so.that I move to car-his actually good *dp* thus *dp*

Mungkin kalo saya kenal saat itu, // barangkali, // tapi saya
perhaps if I know moment that perhaps but I

nggak tau apakah dia orang baik atau tidak, // dan saya
not know whather he person good or not and I

sudah dididik untuk hati-hati, gitu lo. // Selalu pada namanya
already educated to careful thus *dp* always to name-*nya*

---

98 Meaning to say *Gondongan*.

99 *mikrolet*: a small passenger vehicle.

laki-laki ya, // karna kami dari keluarga Katolik yah, // semua. //
male *dp* because we from family Catholic *dp* all

Lalu // ee saya nggak mau, gitu yah. // Saya pernah cerita ini
then I not want thus *dp* I ever tell this

sama kakak saya. // Kakak saya bilang, // 'Bodo. // Siapa
to older.sister my older.sister my say stupid who

tau dia orang kaya dan kamu nanti, // ee nggak usah lagi
know he person rich and you soon [no need] more

kayak begitu,' // gitu ya, // tapi saya nggak mau. // Terus sudah. //
like thus thus *dp* but I not want thus already

Suatu hari lagi, // saya dari arah Cililitan itu // ee .. apa? //
one day more I from direction C that what

turun di Gunung Sahari // untuk kasi les. // Lalu sampe dari
get.off at G H to give lesson then arrive from

situ, // ternyata sudah gelap sekali // dan sudah tutup itu tempat
there clear already dark very and already closed that place

yang lesinnya uda tutup, // jadi saya pada saat itu
where give.lesson-*nya* already closed so I at moment that

naik taksi. // Naik taksi' // mau ke arah ee Jalan Pembangunan. //
get.in taxi get.in taxi want to direction Road P

Lalu di situ, // mm apa ini? nggak, // ceritanya nggak kronologis
then at there what this not story-*nya* not chronological

ya, // saya lupa // soalnya taun-taun sekian ya. // Persis tu
dp I forget matter-*nya* years so.many *dp* precise that

taun tuju pulu tiga-an tu. // Terus saya naik ee taksi, // terus saya
year [about '73] that then I get.in taxi then I

dibawa ke hotel, // oleh taksi itu dibawa kabur. // Namanya
taken to hotel by taxi that taken away name-*nya*

taksinya Morante. // Taksi hijau. // Dibawa kabur // ampir masuk hotel, //
taxi-*nya* M taxi green taken away almost enter hotel

karna saya mo dijual. // Karna waktu itu, // wanita-wanita banyak
because I want be.sold because time that women many

yang diambil // untuk dijual ke luar negeri.
who taken to be.sold to [overseas]

B: Oo:
exc

A: Nah saya tu dalam taksi, // jadi saya tau persis saya mo
dp I that in taxi so I know precisely I want

dijual. // Jadi waktu persis masuk Hotel Borobudur, // lalu saya
be.sold so when precisely enter H B then I

katakan // ee 'Bapak, // kenapa bawa saya ke sini?' // Dia bilang, //
say sir why bring me to here he say

'Diam!' // Lalu, // ee saya dibentak, // suruh[100] diam, // ee tapi karna
quiet then I snapped.at ordered be.quiet but because

saya berani, ya, // saya sudah pontang-panting dengan kehidupan
I brave *dp* I already run.everywhere with life

saya seperti itu, // jadi saya loncat // dari taksi. // Saya loncat
my like that so I jump from taxi I jump

dari taksi, // selamet saya. // Kalo nggak saya nggak ada di sini
from taxi saved I if not I not be [here]

skarang. // Mungkin saya ada di Taiwan, // atau di Hong Kong //
now perhaps I be in T or in H K

jadi penari *striptease* // barangkali.
be dancer perhaps

B: [laughing] Ibu'!
Ma'am

A: He'eh. // Itu pengalaman saya.
Uh-huh that experience my

Interview [19] translation

B: Good morning. I'm now in the office of Mrs R.J, the new head of the L.T. Centre. Good morning, Mrs R.

A: Good morning, Yulianti.

B: How are you?

A: I'm well. What can I do for you?

B: Well, I'd like to interview you. Would you mind telling me about your life from your childhood until the present?

A: Alright Yulianti. I was born in 1953; a long time ago. 1953. So now I'm 47 years old. I'm already old, like an old lady. So, I was born into a very large family; my parents had twelve children. My father was poor, so I come from a poor family. My mother was a cake vendor. You aren't embarrassed, are you? [laughing]

B: No, it doesn't matter.

A: She went around selling cakes in the street. And my father was – now people would probably say a second-hand goods vendor, you know, selling stuff by the

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[100] Meaning *disuruh* 'ordered'.

roadside. And he had twelve children. Each child was taught to be independent, to be able to feed themselves in order to survive. But there was one thing which I still remember until now: my father told me that skills would never be lost. So he said (we had to) go to school; whatever happened we had to go to school.

We had an example in our eldest, in the eldest child. Now he's a gynecologist, a midwifery specialist, and he's very successful. He's a senior, you know. He's a former head of Cireme Hospital in Cirebon, and so on. He joined the army. Because in the army they're fed, right; they're given money for food and so on. So he went to The University of Indonesia and he became our role model. Our eldest brother became our role model. He went to UI while we lived in Bogor so he had to go by train to UI. And until he graduated we were still poor; we had nothing. At the very most he had a bicycle to ride. Every time I look at his photo I feel really sad, because he was so thin and small. But he was eager to finish his study. As soon as he finished he went into military service. At that time he was placed in Kalimantan, if I'm not mistaken. After he'd passed his time with much suffering in Kalimantan he returned to Jakarta. I was still little then. I'm the ninth child. The ninth of twelve brothers and sisters. So when he came home his brothers and sisters lived with him, even though he was still very poor. He'd just graduated, he'd just finished (his military service) and come to Jakarta. He was still in an impoverished state but we lived with him at his expense. His brothers and sisters were parcelled out; some went here, some went there. I was one of those who went to live with him. He was in the army. So when I was a student – I remember vividly – we'll flashback to previously, eh? – when I was a student there was the Malari affair.[101] He has a – what is it – a combi. It was in a really poor state. When he went to Kramat, oh he was pelted with stones by students or someone, I don't know who. And he was so sad because the windscreen was smashed and he had absolutely nothing else. Well, that's my brother; he's first rate.

So he was my role model, mine above the others. Because he[102] had a hard life. He has four children and all four of them are successful. The youngest is in America now. Oh, his life was a poor one; a life with nothing. So if we had any money it was just enough for us to drink a glass of milk, perhaps. [laughing] And even a glass of milk was difficult to find. And meals weren't like they are these days. When we ate everything had to be shared out. My mother divided up every plateful. Two potatoes on this plate, two potatoes on that place, and so on. You absolutely weren't allowed to have more. And my eldest brother, who was in the medical faculty – he was still studying then you see – would get the innards, or what you call it, which had been thrown in the canal or the gutter and he would clean it. Clean it so it could be eaten, you see. He would give it to my mother. My mother would cook it and then share it among the children. Oh, our life was really very, very poor. We didn't have anything.

Well, one of my characteristics is to endeavour to achieve. But one thing that's certain is that we were educated to study, to go to school, because school is number one. It was a necessity. Even though we had to beg, to beg (for money) to

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101 Malari Affair: An incident in Jakarta in 1974 in which troops fired on rioting students and workers.

102 *Saya* is here translated 'he' on the assumption that this is what she meant to say, as she goes on to talk about her brother.

go to school. Because you have to pay (to go to school), don't you? And then after that I lived with my older brother for some time. Then his career began to progress and so on and he began to help us with our education expenses. I had my school and university expenses paid. So that when I got a Supersemar scholarship from Suharto he continued to pay my university expenses, because (he regarded) the Supersemar money as my own money. He said 'That (scholarship) was a result of your own efforts. The high grades you achieved enabled you to get the scholarship so it's your right'. So he continued to give it to me. I remember I got 15,000 from Suharto, from Supersemar. At the end of first semester my marks were pretty good and I was offered the Supersemar scholarship.

And for me myself, I got my education at Regina Pacis, starting from kindergarten to senior high school. I happened to be (living in) Bogor (where Regina Pacis School is). I was pretty active in organizations, starting from – if there was girl guides I joined. I was active in religious organisations also. I was a member of Legion of Mary, for instance. I also joined pastoral activities. I began joining such activities when I was very young. So much so that I'm amazed myself; I was still so young but I was already given all sorts of responsibilities. I was still so very young. Until I finished primary school I wanted to become a nun. But it didn't happen because I wasn't allowed. Then I went to junior high school.

After finishing junior high I had to work. I had to work because I didn't have and money for fees. So I applied at a place, as a ticket seller at Gunung Sahari cinema. I went there and was interviewed. Well, I was accepted, except that I had to work at night. So I (would have to) stand outside the door giving out tickets. Previously, you know, they didn't have ticket windows. You got your ticket at the door. So I was interviewed, everything was OK, and I'd been accepted. But I thought about it again. Well, it was night work, as a cinema ticket seller. So I decided not to take it. So then I began to look for other jobs. For instance, I went selling clothing material to neighbours who needed it. I sold the material on credit. So I'd get it from someone and then I'd get a commission. When I'd sold so much material then I'd get so much money. That's what I did. Another thing I did too when I was in junior high school was – what is it? – I crushed bricks. You know the bricks, don't you, the red ones. Previously, when they were putting up a building if they needed bricks they usually had them crushed and there were no tools for that. Probably there was no machinery for it at that time. So we were asked to pound the bricks, then (the powder) was put into tins.[103] So we were paid so much per tin. I did that work. I was quite diligent pounding the bricks so that by the time I went home I'd earned a lot of money. So my mother was happy to see how capable I was pulverising bricks. I remember it well.

My other older brothers and sisters were doing other things. One sold salted vegetables, you know. Sometimes we felt embarrassed because other people already had cars and none of our friends did what we did. Yes, my friends were rich. Sometimes if I was asked 'Rit, come on let's go swimming', I'd be sad because I wanted to swim but I didn't have the money, you see. But there was one who was kind, who I remember until now. Her name was Grace. She was the

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[103] Bricks were pounded to powder to mix with concrete to make it red.

daughter (of the owner) of the bakery 'Lautan' in Bogor. She often used to give me pocket money. So if I went swimming with her she'd give me money. So I went with her, until I became good at swimming. I'm good at things. I was very active in school. In sport, I was champion at table tennis, I was champion in swimming, I took part in volley ball and basketball. Why did I do that? Because I had lots of rich friends who I went along with and they shouted me meals. Sometimes we liked to eat *bakso*, for instance. 'Let's eat over there!' If we went swimming Grace would pay for my *bakso*, because I like to eat *bakso* too, you see. When I was in senior high school Grace still shouted me *bakso*. But I was a clever kid; I wasn't stupid, you know. I'm pretty smart. At that time I was taking maths and natural science.

[section omitted]

B: Did you sing?

A: Yes. I used to be a singer [laughing]. Because I was a champion, you know. If there was a competition between some group or other I'd join in. For instance, there was a South Sulawesi family group who held a competition and we were usually invited, people were invited to join in the singing. I won the singing. I also joined a *kebaya* queen competition and I won that too. That's how it is. After I won the *kebaya* queen competition I was asked to be on the cover of the magazine, *Detektif Romantika*. I remember it clearly. I was photographed on a motorbike. But after I was photographed, although I got money for it, my father didn't agree. He told me to stop doing it because it wasn't nice. He allowed me to earn money but in a proper way. And frankly, when I was told to hold a gun while sitting on the bike and told to open my blouse a little – when I was asked to show a bit of breast – I didn't want to do it. That's when I stopped. *Detektif Romantika* came out but not containing any pictures of me exposed for I wouldn't agree to do it.

Then I started to teach in a primary school, in 1973 or whenever it was because the school could pay me to do it. So actually that was the only reason I did it. It wasn't because I wanted to teach. I just wanted to get money. Not so that I could be rich but just to make a living. I also went about a lot giving private lessons. I took an umbrella because I was going out in the rain a lot. I couldn't afford to go by (public) transport, so I took an umbrella and walked. I taught in the primary school in the Pasar Baru region. I taught there in the mornings and in the afternoon I taught in Gondongan Road in the Bogor region. There's a Gondongan Road (in Bogor). So I returned home (from Bogor) by bus and when I got to the terminal I'd get a *bemo*. Then I'd (walk) to someone's house (to give private lessons). I'd always take an umbrella so I'd be able to use it if it rained so I wouldn't get wet. But I'd go by foot. I once lived in Gunung Sahari and I walked towards the city, just to give someone lessons.

B: That's a long way!

A: And it was raining. But I had my umbrella and I walked. I'd always been thrifty because the amount that I got from teaching wasn't much. It wasn't that much. I even walked from the bus terminal to Gondongan Road. The thing is I walked everywhere. That's why my legs are still strong even now. I can be proud of my

legs. Seriously, my legs are very strong. Even at my age now I can still go here and there. Maybe it's because I used to play sports. Also sometimes when I was giving private lessons I'd go by *mikrolet*. (Once) I was travelling from one place, if I remember it was Sawah Besar. Behind (the *mikrolet*) there was a car; the car was following me. Perhaps he was a rich man and I was quite pretty then, you know.

B: Of course. You were a model.

A: Yes, I was quite pretty then. [laughing]

B: You're still pretty now, you know.

A: So then he shone his lights on me from behind. He shone his lights on me and told me to get out. He gave a sign, you see, for me to move to his car.[104] Actually, it would have been good perhaps if I had known him at that time. But I didn't know if he was a good person or not. And I had been educated to be careful about males because we were a Catholic family. So I didn't want to do it. I told this to my older sister and she said 'You're stupid. Who knows, perhaps he was a rich man and you would no longer have to live like this.' That's what she said, but I didn't want to do it and that's that.

Another day I was coming from the Cililitan area and I got off at Gunung Sahari to give lessons. But when I got there it was already dark and the place where I was to give lessons was closed. So then I got a taxi. I got in the taxi intending to go to Pembangunan Street. When I got there, aah – I'm not telling this chronologically, right; I forget the details it was so many years ago. It was about 1973. I got in the taxi and I was taken to a hotel. I was taken off by the taxi. It was a Morante cab; a green cab. We were about to enter the hotel because he wanted to sell me. Because at that time lots of women were taken to be sold in other countries.

B: Oh!

A: I was in the taxi and I knew precisely that I was going to be sold. So we were on the point of entering the Hotel Borobudur when I said, 'Sir, why have you brought me here?' He said 'Be quiet!' And he snapped at me, ordering me to be quiet. But since I was brave – I'd been through a lot in my life – I jumped out of the cab. I jumped from the taxi and saved myself. If I hadn't I wouldn't be here now. I'd probably be in Taiwan or in Hong Kong, being a striptease dancer perhaps.

B: [laughing] Oh Ma'am!

A: That's right. That was my experience.

---

104 Presumably the driver of the car following flicked his lights from low to high repeatedly to attract her attention as she sat in the back of the *mikrolet*.

4.6 Conversation [24]

Three speakers:

A: Nidya (Ninid), 22, female, university student

B: Robbie, 23, male, university student

C: Tessa, 23, female, recorder

The recording was made in March 2001 while the three were sitting in a car having lunch at Taman Kerawang, a park in the Menteng district of Jakarta where meals are sold from small stalls (*warung*) to office workers and others.

As is typical in casual conversations, the main topic is constantly interrupted by comments about other matters (including the food they are eating). At times discussion drifts from one matter to another before returning to the main topic. The recording is generally very clear with little background noise. Speakers' turns frequently overlap and as a consequence words are at times obscured. Added to this Robbie's enunciation is at times unclear, especially when he talks while eating.

A: Iya, tadi gua mo ngomong ini, // si Dinda waktu itu
yes just.now I want say this *dim* D time that

nanya ini sama gue, // 'Elo' – apa namanya – 'pernah berantem nggak,
ask this to me you what name-*nya* ever fight not

Nid, sama Bule'?' // 'He he', [imitating laughter] // gue ketawa'. // 'Elo
N with B I laugh you

mustinya nanyanya brapa kali gue nggak berantem sama
must-*nya* ask-*nya* how.many times I not fight with

Bule.' // [laughing] 'Bukan brapa kali gue' – apa? // – 'nggak bra-
B not how.many times I what not

gue berantemnya ama dia brapa tuh, // sering apa nggak,' //
I fight-*nya* with him how.many that often or not

gue tanya, gue bilang gituh.
I ask I say thus

B: Nggalah. // Cewek-cewek gue yang pertama juga' // ngga pernah
no-*lah* girls my who first also not ever

berantem gua ama dia.
fight I with them

A: Ya, mungkin karna elo memang tipikalnya seperti itu kali.
yes perhaps because you indeed typical-*nya* like that perhaps

B: Iya.
yes

C: Iya. // Trus, // ee apa yang bikin lo bisa bertahan sama Dinda
yes then what that make you can hold.out with D

sekian lama, // dibandingin ama cewek-cewek lo yang laen, //
so long compared with girls your which other

kalo elo emang nggak pernah berantem?
if you indeed not ever fight

A: Ya, beda kali.
yes different perhaps

B: Nggak. // Bagimana yah? // Kalo gua putus sama cewek gua yang
no how *dp* if I break with girl my who

pertama kan gara-gara nyokapnya diah. // Kalo sama Dinda kan
first *dp* because mum-*nya* her if with D *dp*

nggak ada masalah sebenernyah.
not be problem actually

C: Mm:
uh-huh

B: Cuma masalahnya cuman di situ doang. // Gue serius sama dia,
only problem-*nya* only [there] just I serious about her

kok. // Gua, gua nggak bakal, nggak bakal mutusin duluan, // tapi
dp I I not will not will break first but

gua ngga bakalan mutusin dia, // tapi kan dia ngga bisa nerima
I not will break.with her but *dp* she not can accept

gua kayak gini, gitu loh.
me like this thus *dp*

C: Mm:
uh-huh

B: Ya udah.
dp already

A: Uda gitu, // dia juga sikon[105] dulu sama skarang waktu pacaran
after that he also situation earlier with now when dating

tuh beda.
that different

B: Mm.
uh-huh

C: [Ya, ya, ya.
yes yes yes

---

105 *sikon*: abbreviation for *situasi dan kondisi* ‘situation and condition’.

B: [Dulu tuh …
previously that

A: Gue bisa menambah-nambahkan kata. // Cie.
I can add words *exc*

B: Ya, dulu tuh nyokap-bokap gua tuh kan // .. mampulah, gitu loh.
yes previously that parents my that *dp* well.off-*lah* thus *dp*

C: Ya, ya, ya.
yes yes yes

B: Ya kan? // Gua [unclear] ngapa-ngapain. // Gua dapet duit jajan dari
dp *dp* I do.anything I get [pocket money] from

nyokap gua tiap minggu', // ya kan? // Gua bisa pake mobil
mum my each week *dp* *dp* I can use car

gua ke mana-mana, // mobil gua ganti-ganti melulu tiap
my to anywhere car my keep.changing just each

minggu, // bokap gua aja beli mobil, ya kan?
week dad my just buy car *dp* *dp*

C: Hm'hm.
uh-huh

B: Nah, // dua tahun pacaran kan, // ambruk tuh kluarga gua. //
dp two year dating *dp* collapse that family my

Dan gua mesti mencari sesuatu buat …
and I must find something to

C: Bisa bangkit lagi.
can rise again

B: He'eh. // Gua buat [indistinct] ngelancarin kuliah gua.
uh-huh I for continue study my

C: Mm.
uh-huh

B: Dan gini, kan? // Jadi gua kuliah skarang // dan gua kan
and like.this *dp* so I study now and I *dp*

nga bisa nganter-njemput dia! // Itu pun, biasanya kalo dia keluar
not can accompany.meet her that even usually if she come.out

jam sembilan tuh, // biasanya gua masih jemput. // Malemnya masih
hour nine that usually I still meet night-*nya* still

ke kampus, // walopun pagi', // peginya tuh dianterin ama
to campus although morning go-*nya* that accompanied by

nyokapnya, misalnya gitu. // Itu masi gua jemput pagi-pagi[106] – apa? –
mum-her for.instance thus that still I meet morning what

malem-malem // jam sembilan, gitu.
evening hour nine thus

C: Gimana kalo Dinda dapet cowok kayak Fido, ya? [laughing]
how if D get boyfriend like F *dp*

B: Emang Fido kenapa?
indeed F why

C: Gue pacaran ama dia .. // we- mau – misalnya kan dia naik
I dating with him want for.example *dp* he ride

motor. // Motor kadang-kadang mogo:k, gitu. // Motor, motor
motorbike motorbike sometimes break.down thus bike bike

yang umurnya lebi tua' daripada umurnya dia setaon, //
which age-its more old than age-*nya* his a.year

gitu. [laughing]
thus

A: Dinda pasti seneng deh punya pacar kayek Bule.
D certainly happy *dp* have boyfriend like B

C: Kayanya sih. // Soalnya, dia …
like-*nya* *dp* thing.is she

A: Nggak minta jemput,[107] // pasti bakal dijemput.
not ask be.met certainly will be.met

B: Iyah.
yes

C: Nggak, // kaya – soal, soalnya dia pernah sih, // dia pernah, //
no like thing thing.is she ever *dp* she ever

'Enak ya, Ninid punya cowok kayek Bule,' gitu.
good *dp* N have boyfriend like B thus

B: Hmm. // Begitu emang. // Dia slalu ngebandingin gua sama Bule'.
uh-huh thus indeed she always compare me to B

A: Iyah?
yes

B: He'eh.
uh-huh

C: Oke deh! // *So, it's* [*a new secret!*]
OK *dp*

---

106 He says *pagi-pagi* 'in the morning' but then corrects himself, saying *malem-malem* 'in the evening'.

107 *jemput*: meaning to use the passive *dijemput* 'be met'.

A: [Kenapa?] // Emang dia taunya apa?
why indeed she know-*nya* what

B: Apaan?
what

A: Dan gue baru tau, // elo nggak pernah cerita ituh.
and I just.now know you not ever tell that

B: Nah, itu gua. // Gua nggak mo aja [laughing] gua emang orangnya
dp that I I not want just I indeed person-*nya*

ngga pernah mo cerita. // Biarin aja. // Jadi', yang kaya lo ke
not ever want tell allow just so which like you to

Eropa, // katanya lo dikasi duit jajan ama nyokapnya Bule'.
Europe word-*nya* you given money shop by mum-*nya* B

A: Mm.
uh-huh

B: Dia crita ama, // ama gua. // Uda gitu kalo lo pegi
she tell to to me already thus if you go

makan-makan ama nyokapnya Bule', // dia crita ama gua. //
eat with mum-*nya* B she tell to me

Gua bilang, 'Itu kan haknya dia. // Kalo kayak
I say that *dp* right-*nya* her if like

[gua laen', gitu.
me different thus

A: [Emang gua cerita ama Dindah?
indeed I tell to D

B: Iyah. // Elo suka, // lo suka bilang kan kalo misalnya – //
yes you like you like say *dp* if for.instance

apa namanya? – // ee 'Si Ninid tuh diajak makan ama
what name-*nya* *dim* N that asked eat with

nyokap-bokapnya Bule.'[108]
parents-*nya* B

A: Oo, // itu waktu jamannya gue sekelas ya ama dia. //
exc that when time-*nya* I a.class *dp* with her

Yang jaman dulu, // [waktu Pancasila.
which time previously when P

B: [Wah gua nggak tau deh! //
exc I not know *dp*

Gua nggak [tau deh!
I not know *dp*

---

[108] He is quoting Dinda, not Ninid.

A: [Eh, Pancasila, // gue sekelas ama elo, ya?
P I a.class with you *dp*

B: Sering deh pokoknya, deh!
often *dp* thing.is *dp*

C: Trus?
go.on

B: Ya, uda. // [Nggak …
dp already not

C: [Ngga, nggak. // Ee elo skarang masi .. masi .. masi ada
not not you now still still still be

feeling nggak ama dia, gitu? // [Nggak?
not for her thus not

B: [Nggalah. // Gua ngga mau.
no-*lah* I not want

C: [*Swear*?

A: [Ngga mao apa ngga ada'? // Ngga mo ma[109] ngga ada
not want or not be not want and not be

beda loh!
different *dp*

B: Ngga, ngga mau. Ngga mau.
no not want not want

A: Tapi masih ada? // Berusaha meng-…
but still be try

B: Iya, ya, begitu.
yes yes thus

[a beggar comes asking for money]

A: Eh, ada cepekan?
be one.hundred

[indistinct, as they look for something for the begger]

C: Aa:h, ternyata .. Dia tuh sebenernya brapa bersodara sih? //
appear she that actually how.many be.siblings *dp*

Dua bersodara?
two be.siblings

B: Dua. // Dan dia tu // ngikutin, ngikutin nyokapnya banget, gitu loh.
two and she that follow follow mum-her very thus *dp*

C: Emang nyokapnya aga-agak matre? [laughing] [Ma'ap
indeed mum-her rather materialistic sorry

---

[109] Meaning *sama.*

B: [Bukannya, bukan aga-aga
not-*nya* not rather

matre, // Nyokapnya tu' // [dulu …
materialistic mum-*her* that before

C: [Punya *standard* sendiri.
have own

B: Ya, // dulu tuh gini. // Dulu tuh, // nyokapnya tuh sama
yes before that like.this before that mum-her that with

bokapnya tu // kalo gua ngga salah denger crita, yeh. //
dad-her that if I not wrong hear story *dp*

Ini bukan guen[110] // bukan gua yang cerita juga', // tuh nyokap
this not I not I who tell also that mum

bok-, // ama bokapnya dulu pas kawin itu, // pihak bokapnya
with dad-her before when marry that side dad-her

tuh ngga setuju.
that not agree

C: Mm.
uh-huh

B: Dan melihat Ninid …
and look.at N

A: *Why*?

B: Ngerti ngga'? // Ngga tau gua kenapa ceritanya. // Itu
understand not not know I how story-*nya* that

cerita dia. // Dan meliat Ninid ama Bule, // ama nyokap-bokapnya
story her and look.at N with B with parents-*nya*

Bule tuh begini, [his mobile phone begins to ring] // sedangkan nyok-
B that like.this while

nyokapnya gua, // sama bokap, // ama dia tuh …
mum-*nya* my with dad with her that

C: Beda.
different

B: Beda, gitu. // Takutnya begitu. // Hallo? ..
different thus fear-*nya* thus hello

[he speaks on the phone. There are frequent short pauses]

hah? .. di: .. lagi ini, // di kampus. // Kenapa? // ..
huh at still this on campus why

---

110 Meaning to say *gua* 'I'.

Nggaklah. // Bentar lagi, // gue janjian. .. // Ee: dia kelar kuliah
no-*lah* a.moment more I appointment she finish lecture

jam brapa? // jam: .. dua belas yah? .. // Eh, dia [inaudible] mo nelfon
hour what hour [12] *dp* she will phone

gua ntar. .. // Langsung ke itu, // IELTS.[111] // Dia lagi kuliah
me soon direct to that she present lecture

yah? .. //Oo. // Gua lagi makan dulu di kampus nih. // .. Hah? // ..
dp *exc* I present eat first at campus this *exc*

Lagi makan, // mo makan di kampus. // Aah. // Gimana nih,
present eat want eat at campus *exc* how this

Pak? // Gimana nih? .. // Degdegan nih. // .. Heh? // taroan? //
sir how this heart.pounding this huh bet

ngehe[112] lo. [laughing] // Gitu, yeh? // Hasil aja dibuat taroan, yah? //
damn you thus *dp* result just made bet *dp*

[laughing] kampungan. [laughing] // Elos[113] tertawa di atas penderitaan
hick you laugh [at] suffering

gua lo! // [a long pause] He'eh. // .. Oke, oke, oke, .. oke. // Yok.
my *dp* uh-huh OK OK OK OK *dp*

[he ends the phone conversation] Bule. [laughter] Kalo uda tau
B when already know

hasilnya, // elo suruh *miss-call*-in dia.[114]
result-*nya* you told missed-call him

A: *Miss-call*-in ke mana? // Gua nggak bisa *miss-call* [unclear].
missed-call to where I not can missed-call

B: Pengen, pengen[115] gua ajah.
use use mine just

A: *Handphone* lo abodemen[116]?
mobile your pre-paid

B: Oh, iya. // Nggak bisa, yah.
exc yes not can *dp*

C: Emang kalo abodemen ngga bisa *miss-call*?
indeed if pre-paid not can missed-call

---

111 IELTS (pronounced *aielts*): International English Language Testing Service.

112 *ngéhé*: (a swear word) 'damn you'.

113 Meaning to say *elu* 'you'.

114 *miss-call* in this usage means to phone a number and immediately hang up after it rings. The person phoned can then check to find out what number they have been phoned from.

115 *pengen* means 'want'. Possibly he means to say *pake* 'use (mine)'.

116 *abodemen*: system of regular pre-payment for mobile phone use.

B: Nggak bisa. // Mesti di atas berapa duit.
not can must [above] so.much money

[Waiter brings ordered food. They continue talking while eating.]

B: Yo, yo, yo! [to waiter bringing food]
yes yes yes

C: Maksudnya mesti di atas brapa duit, // gua nggak ngerti.
meaning-*nya* must [above] so.much money I not understand

B: [Aa: …
exc

A: [Mentari[117] harus di atas dua ratus ribu, .. // baru bisa internasional.
must [above] [200,000] just can

B: Yah.
yes

C: Jadi, abodemen pun nggak bisa?
so pre-paid even not can

A: Abodemen bisa, // abodemen. // Dia, dia punya bukan
pre-paid can pre-paid he he have not

abodemenya ya [unclear]?
pre-paid-*nya* *dp*

B: Gua punya abodemen.
I have pre-paid

A: Eh, bisa berarti, Rob!
can mean R

B: Eh, gua punya bukan abodemen.
I have not pre-paid

A: Nah, iya.
dp yes

C: Oo.
exc

A: Trus ngomong apaan si Bule?
then say what *dim* B

B: Ngga ngomong apa-apa.
not say anything

A: Nanya gue, yah?
ask me *dp*

B: Iya. [‘Lo sama Ninid?’
yes you with N

---

117 Mentari: prepaid phone card.

A: [Trus?
then

B: 'Nggak,' // gua bilang, // 'gua lagi, lagi makan di kampus.' // ..
no I say I now now eat on campus

Gua bilang, 'Ninid lagi kuliah.'
I say N now have.lecture

C: Ngibul, ngibul.[118] [chanting]
lie lie

A: Sementara nanti gua mo bilang ama dia kalo gue nggak
while soon I want say to him that I not

kuliah, Rob. // Ngga pa-pa sih. // Ntar lo bilang aja
have.lecture R [it doesn't matter] *dp* soon you say just

lo taunya gue kuliah.
you know-*nya* I have.lecture

B: Iyah! .. Kan [inaudible]
yes *dp*

C: Trus, uda gitu ntar lo alasan lo apa?
then already thus soon you reason your what

B: Ha?
huh

A: Gue nggak kuliah, // gue telat dan gue nungguin Robbie. //
I not have.lecture I too.late and I await R

Dan ya uda seandai, // jadi elo taunya gua kuliah, //
and *dp* already supposing so you know-*nya* I have.lecture

dan gue taunya janjian stengah dua belas. // Gitu aja, ya.
and I know-*nya* arrangement [half past eleven] thus just *dp*

B: Ya, ya, ya. // .. Beres.
yes yes yes settled

C: [Makan!
eat

B: [Kami berdua, // kami berdua sudah pengs-, pengrsda[119] …
we both we both already

A: Berpekalaman.[120] [laughter]
experienced

C: Kaco yah?
messy *dp*

---

118 Jakarta Malay *ngibul* 'lie' (base *kibul*)

119 He was stumbling on a word, guessed at by the next speaker.

120 Meaning to say *berpengalaman* 'experienced'.

A: Karna Bule orangnya harus digituin, Tes.
because B person-*nya* must be.treated.like.that T

C: Ya sih.
yes *dp*

A: Gua itu udah slalu berulangkali bilang sama dia …
I that already always repeatedly say to him

B: Kenapa dia nggak nelp[121] ke *handphone* lo, Nid?
why he not phone to mobile your N

A: Mangkanya, // tadi langsung gue matiin tau nggak sih
that's.why just.now straight I turn.off know not *dp*

handphone gue, // takutnya ada yang bunyi.
mobile my afraid-*nya* be which sound

B: Kenapa lo takut? // Dia kan di Australi. // Sedangkan lo, //
why you afraid he *dp* in A whereas you

dia cuma bisa denger suara lo.
he only can hear voice your

A: Nggak. // Maksud gue, // kalo misalkan nanti lo nelp, // lagi
no meaning my if for.instance soon you phone while

ngomong uda gitu *handphone* gue bunyi .. dan gue harus
talk already thus mobile my sound and I must

ngomong, gitu loh. // 'Kok, nggak diangkat-angkat itu *handphone*-nya
talk thus *dp* *dp* not lifted that mobile-*nya*

siapa?' [While saying this she turns the phone on and it makes a sound
whose

('opening sound') to indicate it has been activated. Robbie is startled, thinking
someone is phoning her.]

Nggak, // bukan, bukan itu. //. Tanda, tanda, //
not not not that signal signal

opening, *opening*.

B: Oh.
exc

C: *Opening*, *opening*. // .. Kayaknya kolnya kurang nih.
like-*nya* cabbage-*nya* lacking this

B: Nih mau? [offering her some of his cabbage]
this want

C: Ma:s! // Minta kol.
waiter request cabbage

---

[121] *nelp*: slang abbreviation for *nelepon* 'to telephone'.

[unclear passage; someone coughing]

A: Tongsengnya[122] belum yah?
not.yet *dp*

C: Belum.
not.yet

B: Kayaknya tadi gue agak ngehunjuk atas, // dan mestinya lo
like-*nya* just.now I rather raise above and should-*nya* you

kebawahan[123] dikit. [they are transferring food from one plate to another]
lower little

C: Elo di bawah gue, Rob. [Ntar lo du- [inaudible]
you [below] me R soon you

B: [Iya, maksud gua, tadi gua …
yes meaning my just.now I

C: Kalo gue di bawah dikit nih, // kena ba- // kena bangku dua.
if I [below] little this hit.by hit.by seat two

B: Nggak, maksud [gue tadi dibikin …] Oh, gitu. // Ya, bener juga.
no meaning my just.now made *exc* thus *dp* true also

A: [Rusak deh wawancara!] [laughter]
wrecked *dp* interview

A: Makan!
eat

C: Lo nggak berdoa [dulu?
you not pray first

B: [Monggo.[124] // .. Ha?
please huh

C: Nggak berdoa dulu!
not pray first

B: [Dalam hatilah.
in heart-*lah*

A: [Nggak, dalam hati. [laughter] // .. Tadi gue mo ngomong apah? //
no in heart just.now I want discuss what

Iya, terus .. ee yah, lupa:!
dp then *dp* forget

B: Iya, jadi gini. // Mm .. // apa namanya? // sini ke -, si Dinda itu, //
dp like this what name-*nya* here to *dim* D that

---

122 *tongseng*: a Javanese dish containing cabbage and meat.

123 Meaning to say *kebawahkan* 'cause to be lower'.

124 *monggo*: Javanese word inviting someone to do something, similar to Indonesian *silakan*.

	nyokap-bokapnya	kan, //	dulu	kan	nggak	distujuin	ama	bokapnya,	gitu.		
	parents-her	*dp*	before	*dp*	not	agreed	by	dad-*nya*	thus		
A:	[Aah.										
	exc										
C:	[Mmm.										
	uh-huh										
B:	Dan	melihat	nyokap-bokapnya	Bule	ke	elo	begitu, //	sedangkan			
	and	look.at	parents-*nya*	B	to	you	thus	while			
	nyokap-bokapnya	gue	ke	dia	begitu …						
	parents-*nya*	my	to	her	thus						
A:	Nyokap-bokapnya	dia	dulu .. //	nyokap-bokapnya .. //			bokapnya	ke			
	parents-*nya*	her	first	parents-*nya*			dad-her	to			
	nyokapnya,	gitu?									
	mum-her	thus									
B:	Nyokap-bokapnya	Bul- //	apa? //	Nyokap-bokapnya			dulu	kan	nggak		
	parents-*nya*	B	what	parents-her			before	*dp*	not		
	disetujuin //	ama,	ama,	ama	pihak	bokapnya.					
	agreed.to	by	by	by	side	dad-her					
A:	He’eh,	sementara	gua	ama	cowok	gua	disetujuin?				
	uh-huh	while	I	with	boyfriend	my	agreed.to				
B:	Bukan	begitu, //	bukan	begitu. //	Ngerti		nggak? //	Ini	jadi, //		
	not	thus	not	thus	understand		not	this	be		
	kayak	dia	tuh	ss- ss-	seolah	trauma,	gitu. //	Ngerti	nggak?		
	like	she	that	as.if	traumatised		thus	understand	not		
A:	[Oh	ya,	ya.								
	exc	yes	yes								
C:	[Hm’m.										
	uh-huh										
B:	Aa:	gitu. //	Jadi	kan	bokap-nyokapnya	kan	dulu’ //	kawin, //			
		thus	so	*dp*	parents-her	*dp*	before	marry			
	tapi	pihak	bokapnya	tuh	nggak	setuju	ama	nyokapnya.			
	but	side	dad-her	that	not	agree	with	mum-her			
A:	He’eh.										
	uh-huh										
B:	Nah	gitu	kan, //	skarang	kan	dia	suka	denger-denger	cerita		
	dp	thus	*dp*	now	*dp*	she	often	hear	story		
	dari	lo, // ee	uda	gitu //	gimana	nyokap-bokap	Bule	sama	lo,		
	from	you	already	thus	how	parents	B	to	you		

ya kan? // Dengan dia ngalamainnya tuh nyokap-bokapnya gue
dp dp with her experience-*nya* that parents-*nya* my

tuh sama dia gini, // gitu.
that to her like.this thus

A: Oh, he'eh he'eh.
exc uh-huh uh-huh

B: Beda, gitu loh. // Kayak orang ngga disetujuin juga, gitu. // Nah,
different thus *dp* like person not agreed.to also thus *dp*

dia kan trauma begitu. // Trus uda gitu, // nah, itu poin ketiga.
she *dp* traumatised thus then after that *dp* that point third

C: Emang elo ngga disetujui?
indeed you not agreed.to

B: Nggak! // Nyokap-bokap gue emang kolot, // jadi emang
no parents my indeed old.fashioned so indeed

begitu orangnya.
thus person-*nya*

A: Bukannya nggak disetujuin, // tapi // ya, emang begitu.
not-*nya* not agreed.to but *dp* indeed thus

B: Hm'hm. Nyokap-bok- …
uh-huh mother-

C: Emang kendala apa yang elo temuin // waktu lo .. sama si
indeed obstacle what which you meet when you with *dim*

Dinda masuk keluarga lo tuh, // ada kendala apa terhadap
D enter family your that be obstacle what to

bokap-nyokap elo itu?
parents your that

B: Nggak ada. // Cuman, nyokap-bokap gue emang orangnya gimana yah?
not be only parents my indeed person-*nya* how *dp*

C: Ngga *welcome*. // Maksudnya ngga se-*welcome* [orangtuanya …
not meaning-*nya* not as.welcome.as parents-*nya*

B: [Ngga, ngga, nggak.
no no no

C: orangtuanya Bule.
parents-*nya* B

B: Elo tau, // lo tau nyokap-bokapnya Bule ama Ninid gimana, nggak?
you know you know parents-*nya* B with N how not

C: Tau!
know

B: Suka diajak, // pegi, // suka nelfon, // gitu. // Sedangkan bokap-nyokap
often taken go often telephone thus while parents

gua tuh ngga pernah nelfon dia!
my that not ever phone her

A: Dan dia ngebandingin, gitu loh, Tess. // 'Kok, nyokap-bokapnya Robbie
and she compare thus *dp* T *dp* parents-*nya* R

nggak gitu sih ama gueh! // Padahal [Ninid begitu, // gitu loh.
not thus *dp* to me whereas N thus thus *dp*

B: [Gitu, ngerti nggak? // tuh.
thus understand not that

C: Itu sama keyak masalah gue ama cowok gue, // jadi
that same as problem my with boyfriend my so

nyokap-bokap gue tuh // sama kaya orangtuanya si Bule, //
parents my that same as parents-*nya* *dim* B

tapi nyokap-bokapnya cowok gue, // kayak ya: // nggak, nggak
but parents-*nya* boyfriend my like *dp* not not

separah-parahnya: …
as.severe.as

A: Yaa, // [*tissue* lagi dong!
dp another *dp*

C: [nyokap-bokap elo sih. // Masing- masih ini sih, // cuman
parents your *dp* both still this *dp* only

lebi kaku lagi, gitu loh. // [Emang …
more stiff further thus *dp* indeed

B: [Nggak, cuman, // sebenernya yang
no only actually what

mo dipikiran[125] – // yang mo dipikirin gitu yah, // skarang
want what want thought.about thus *dp* now

begini, // dia nggak bisa nyalahin bokap-nyokap gue secara //
like.this she not can blame parents my a.way

seratus persen.
one.hundred percent

C: Iya dong!
dp *dp*

B: Kenapa begitu?
why thus

A: [Gimana pun, // mereka tuh masih ada hubungan ama elo.
however even they that still have relationship with you

---

[125] Meaning *dipikirin*, followed by the correction.

C: [Karna mereka lebih lahir duluan!]
because they more born earlier

B: Bukan! // Bukan begitu! // Kenapa begitu? // Karna Dinda tuh nga
no not thus why thus because D that not

mo nginjek rumah gua.
want step.in house my

A: Dia sendiri nggak ada usaha ..
she self not be effort

B: Itu satu, itu.
that one that

A: buat ngedeketin [nyokap-bokap lo.
to approach parents your

C: [*Sorry*! // Nggak mo nginjek rumah lo
not want step.in house your

maksudnya? // Ngga mo dateng ke rumah lo sama skali?
meaning-*nya* not want come to house your [at all]

B: Ee ngga mo turun, // tepatnya.
not want get.out precise-*nya*

A: Naa, itu lebih sadis lagi, kan?
dp that more sadistic further *dp*

B: [Jadi, nggak …
so not

C: [Slama empat taun lo pacaran, nggak mo turun?
during four year you dating not want get.out

B: Dulu pertama kali pacaran, // cuman begini ya, // nyokap gua
before first time date only like.this *dp* mum my

tuh orangnya cablak[126], // ngerti nggak?
that person-*nya* loud understand not

C: Hm'hm.
uh-huh

B: Kalo ngomong sama temen-temen gua tuh, // 'Ah, gimana sih? //
if talk to friends my that *exc* how *dp*

Dasar, // bego,' // gitu, // apa gimana ya?
damn stupid thus or how *dp*

A,C: Mm:
uh-huh

---

[126] *cablak*: Jakarta Malay 'to be a loud mouth; to speak tactlessly without considering the consequences'.

B: Kayak, kayak ngomong ama gua aja, gitu.
like like talk to me just thus

C: Ha: // .. [Oke, trus?
exc OK go.on

B: [Ee uda gitu, // suatu saat tuh // gue ngebeliin
already thus one time that I buy

dia makanan.
her food

A: Ngebeliin siapa? // Dinda?
buy who D

B: Ngebeliin gua sama Dinda makanan, gitu. // Aa makanan gitu, // trus
buy me and D food thus food thus then

udah gitu sayurnya kan gue pisahin, // gue buang, // gue
after that vegetables-*nya* *dp* I separate I throw.away I

kan enggak doyan sayur. // Si Dinda juga nggak doyan
dp not like vegetables *dim* D also not like

sayur. // Trus udah gitu, // ee apa namanya?, // nyokap gua
vegetables then after that what name-*nya* mum my

dateng. // 'Kok, sayurnya nggak dimakan?' // 'Nggak, Tante. //
come *dp* vegetable-*nya* not eaten no aunt

Nggak doyan,' // kata Dinda gitu. // 'Ah, sama begonya dong ama
not like say D thus *exc* same stupid-*nya* *dp* as

Robbie,' gitu. // Digituin, gitu. // Gua tau itu becanda. //
R thus treated.thus thus I know that joking

Cuman, Dinda tuh nganggepnya laen, gitu. // Dia tuh pikirannya
only D that consider-*nya* different thus she that thought-*nya*

gini, // 'Nyokap gua aja nggak pernah ngomong, // nggak pernah
like.this mum my just not ever talk not ever

ngatain gua bego'.' // Tapi nyokap gua ngatain dia bego', gitu. //
call me stupid but mum my call her stupid thus

Gua bilang, // 'Kenapa dimasukin ke hati?' // gitu loh. // Sekarang …
I say why put.in to heart thus *dp* now

A: Sementara, // nyokap lo emang orangnya kayak gitu.
while mum your indeed person-*nya* like thus

B: Iya, gitu! // Si Bule aja ngalamin gitu // dan dia tuh nggak, nggak
yes thus *dim* B just experience thus and he that not not

masalah gitu!
problem thus

C: Mungkin karna Bule cowok, // Rob.
perhaps because B male R

B: Mungkin! // Tapi, // gua bilang, // gue udah bilang itu becanda. //
perhaps but I say I already say that joking

Nah, sejak itu dia nggak mau ke rumah gua lagi. // Nggak mo
dp since that she not want to house my more not want

tu-, // nggak mo, nggak mo turun ama nyokap. // Pertama itu. //
not want not want get.out to mum first that

Trus kedua tuh, // kalo gua mo malem mingguan ama
then second that if I want [Saturday night] together

pegi bareng Dinda itu, // kalo gua ngajak adek gua
go with D that if I ask younger.sister my

tuh, // dia nggak, nggak suka'.
that she not not like

A: Ya, ya. [to waiter bringing food]
yes yes

B: Pinggirannya dirapihin dulu, Nid.
side-*nya* tidied.up first N

A: Nggak usahlah. // Ntar aja.
[no need-*lah*] later just

B: Nih, Tess? [offering her food]
this T

C: Lah, // itu kan elu.
exc that *dp* your

B: Loh, // elo nggak mau?
dp you not want

C: Mau, // tapi ntar aja.
want but later just

B: Ambil aja dulu.
take just first

C: La, gimana?
exc how

B: La, // tuang dulu kalo mao. // .. Dan dia tuh gak mo, nggak
exc pour first if want and she that not want not

pernah mau' // pegi bareng, // bareng – apa namanya? – // bareng
ever want go with with what name-*nya* with

adek-adek gue, gitu loh.
younger.siblings my thus *dp*

A: Mm.
uh-huh

B: Maksud gue, // gue mo ngajak adek gua …
meaning my I want urge younger.sibling my

C: Minta, ya?
request *dp*

B: He'eh. // Gua mo ngajak adek gua // dan gua mo
uh-huh I want urge younger.sibling my and I want

ngajak, // mo ngajak adeknya dia, gitu.
urge want urge younger.sibling-*nya* her thus

A: Heh.
uh-huh

B: Ya, dia nggak pernah mao, // gitu.
dp she not ever want thus

C: *Thank you.*

B: He'eh. // Tuh, // kedua. // Eh, yang keempat ya?
uh-huh that second which fourth *dp*

A: Ho, // banyak men,[127] akhirannya men!
exc much *exc* finally *exc*

B: Ya, // yang keempat, itu.
yes which fourth that

C: Tapi elo nggak pernah *complain* selama ini tentang hal itu //
but you not ever [up till now] about matter that

di depannya dia?
[in front of-*nya*] her

B: Gue pikir nanti bakal berubah.
I think soon will change

A: Yah!
dp

C: Nggak bakalanlah, // kalo elo nggak bilang!
not will-*lah* if you not say

A: Iya! // .. Laen kali jangan begitu yah?
yes other time don't thus *dp*

C: Hm'hm. // Itulah gunanya elo belajar!
uh-huh that-*lah* use-*nya* you learn

B: Mm, nggaklah.
no-*lah*

---

[127] *men*: He may be imitating the use of English 'man' in such contexts. Stevens (2004) gives *man* as 'slang' meaning 'man!'.

A: Belajar dari pengalaman.
learn from experience

Conversation [24] translation

A: Well, I was about to say, one day Dinda asked me, 'Have you ever fought with Bule?' 'Ha ha,' I laughed. 'You should've asked me how many times I've fought with him! [laughing] Not whether I have ever fought with him or not!,'[128] That's what I told her.

B: Of course not. I also never argued with my earlier girlfriends.

A: Well, that probably because you're just typical.

B: Right.

C: Yes. So, how is it you were able to stay with Dinda for so long compared with other girlfriends of yours, if you never fought at all?

A: Well, she's different, I suppose.

B: Well, how would I say it? When I broke with my first girl it was because of her mother. But with Dinda, I actually didn't have any problems.

C: I see.

B: But that's just the problem. I was serious about her. I wouldn't dump her first, but she couldn't accept me just the way I am.

C: Uh-huh.

B: Well, that's it.

A: Also, his situation previously when he was dating was different from now.

B: Right.

C: Okay.

B: Previously …

A: I can do the speech for you. Cool!

B: Well, you know, my parents used to be well off.

C: Right.

B: You see? And I didn't have to do anything. I got pocket money from my mum every week, right? I could use my car everywhere I wanted to. I kept changing my car every week and my dad would just buy a new one.

C: Uh-huh.

B: But then, after we'd been dating for two years my family went broke, and I had to find something to …

---

128 Nidya's statement is somewhat confused. The translation reflects what she probably intended to say.

C: to rise up again.

B: Right. At least something to allow me to continue my studies.

C: Right.

B: So now this is what I am. And since I'm studying now I can't pick her up and run her around any more. But even then, I still usually pick her up when she finishes classes at nine in the evening. At night I still go to the campus (to pick her up), even though her mum takes her to the uni in the morning. But I still pick her up in the evening around nine.

C: What would Dinda do if she had a boyfriend like Fido, I wonder. [laughing]

B: What's wrong with Fido?

C: I used to go out with him. He had a motorbike and sometimes it would break down. It was a year older than him, you know! [laughing]

A: I bet Dinda would be happy to have a boyfriend like Bule.

C: I think so, because she …

A: Even if she doesn't ask to be picked up he'd definitely pick her up anyway.

B: That's true.

C: The thing is she once said, 'It must be great for Ninid, having a boyfriend like Bule'.

B: Right. That's the truth. She's always comparing me to Bule.

A: Really?

B: True.

C: Alright then, another new secret now!

A: Why? What did she know?

B: What?

A: And I didn't know before; you never told me that.

B: Well, that's me. I'm .. [laughing] I'm the sort of person who doesn't tell things easily. Don't you worry about that. So, just like when you went to Europe, she said Bule's mum gave you shopping money.

A: Right.

B: She told me that. Or just like when you went out to eat with Bule's mum, she told me about that too. I said to her, 'That's her right. I'm different from that, okay?' That's what I said.

A: Did I tell Dinda about this?

B: Well**,** you often told her, what was it now? (She said to me) 'Ninid is invited for dinner by Bule's parents'.

A: Oh, that was when I was in the same class as her, right? It was a long time ago, at the time of the Pancasila (class).

B: Well, I don't know!

A: Yes, it was the Pancasila (class). I was in the same class as you, right?

B: Yes, quite often.

C: And then?

B: Well, no …

C: Listen, listen. Do you still have some feelings for her, or not?

B: Of course not. I don't want her anymore.

C: Do you swear that?

A: You don't want her or you don't have feelings anymore? 'Don't want' and 'Don't have' are different, you know.

B: No, I don't want her. I don't want her.

A: But do you still have feelings? Or are you trying to …

B: Yes, that's it.

[a begger comes along]

A: Hey, do you have any coins?

[indistinct as they look for money for the begger]

C: It seems .. How many brothers and sisters does she have? Two?

B: Yes, two. And she copies her mum so much, you know.

C: Is her mum a bit materialistic? [laughing] Sorry!

B: No, not materialistic. Previously her mum was …

C: She has her own standards.

B: Well, what happened was like this. Previously, her mum and her dad – this is if I didn't hear the story wrong, okey? It wasn't me who told this story – when they got married, her dad's family didn't approve.

C: Uh-huh.

B: And looking at Ninid …

A: Why (didn't they agree)?

B: I don't know how the story went. That's her story. And by looking at Ninid with Bule and with Bule's parents like this (approving the relationship), when [Robby's mobile phone begins to ring] meanwhile my parents (attitude) to her was …

C: Different.

B: That's right. And that's what I'm afraid of. [he speaks on the phone. There are frequent short pauses] Hello? What? I'm here, on campus. What? .. No, not long; I have an appointment … What time does she finish her class? At twelve, isn't it?

That's right, she said she'd call me. .. And we'll go straight to take my IELTS. .. Is she at a lecture now? .. I'm having lunch now at campus. .. What? .. I'm having lunch, I'm about to have lunch at uni. .. that's right .. What's up? .. Yes, my heart's pounding.[129] Eh? betting? .. Damn you [laughing] .. Oh, yeah? .. So you want to bet on my result, do you? [Laughing] You yobbo. Laughing at my suffering! .. Uh-huh, okay, okay, see you. [he ends the phone conversation]. It was Bule. [laughter] He said when you know the result to missed-call him.

A: Missed-call where to? I can't do missed-call.

B: Why don't you use mine?

A: Do you have a pre-paid plan for your mobile?

B: Oh, right! We can't do it, can we.

C: You mean if you have a pre-paid plan you can't missed-call?

B: That's right. You have to have (credit) above a certain amount.

[Waiter brings ordered food. They continue talking while eating.]

B: Right, right. [to waiter]

C: What do you mean it must be above a certain amount. I don't get it?

B: Well …

A: Your credit must be above two hundred thousand before you can make international calls.

B: Right.

C: So, even if you have a pre-paid plan, you can't (make an international calls)?

A: With a pre-paid system you can. He doesn't have a pre-paid scheme, do you (Robbie)?

B: Yes, I do.

A: So that means I can (use your phone), Rob!

B: Oh, (I mean) what I have isn't a pre-paid plan.

A: Yeah, that's right.

C: Oh, right.

A: So what did Bule say?

B: He didn't say anything.

A: He asked about me, did he?

B: Yes. (He asked,) 'Are you with Ninid?'

A: Go on.

---

[129] He is nervous because of the exam he is about to have to determine if his English knowledge is sufficient to study in Australia.

B: 'No, I'm not,' I said, 'I'm having lunch at campus now.' I said, 'Ninid's in a lecture now.'

C: Liar, liar. [chanting]

A: I was going to tell him that I'd skipped my class. It doesn't matter. (If he asks you,) just tell him all you know is I had a lecture.

B: Okey.

C: But then, what reason are you going to give him?

B: What?

A: I didn't go to my class. (I'll tell him) I was too late and I was waiting for Robbie. And that's it. So supposing (he asks), all you know is I had a lecture and all I know is I'd arranged to meet you at 11.30. We'll do it like that, right?

B: Right, that's settled.

C: Let's eat.

B: Both of us are …

A: Experienced. [laughing]

C: What a mess![130]

A: Because that's what we have to do to Bule, Tess.

C: Yeah, right.

A: I've told him so many times that …

B: Why didn't he call you on your mobile, Nid?

A: That's why I turned off my mobile right away just then, because I was worried someone might call me.

B: Why would you be afraid? He's in Australia, isn't he. All he could do is hear your voice.

A: No, I mean, what if you called him and while you were talking my mobile rang. I'd have to answer it, you see. (Or Bule would ask,) 'How come that person isn't answering their phone?' [While saying this she turns the phone on and it makes a sound ('opening sound') to indicate it has been activated. Robbie is startled, thinking someone is phoning her.] No, it's not ringing. It's just a signal, the opening sound.

B: Oh (I see).

C: It's the opening sound. .. I don't think they've given me enough cabbage here.

B: Do you want this? [offering her some of his cabbage]

C: Waiter, can I have some more cabbage?

[unclear passage]

---

130 C is annoyed that the other two plan to lie to Bule.

A: Hasn't the *tongseng* come yet?

C: Not yet.

B: I've lifted my plate higher and you should put your plate down a bit. [they are transferring food from one plate to another]

C: Put your plate lower than mine, Rob, and then you [inaudible]

B: Well, what I mean is, I've just …

C: If I put my plate any lower, it'll hit these two seats.

B: No, what I meant was to make it .. Oh, I see. Yeah, you're right.

A: Hey! You're ruining the interview. [laughter]

A: Let's eat.

C: You're not going to pray first?

B: Let's eat. .. What?

C: You're not saying grace?

B: Just silently.

A: No, just silently. [laughter] What was I going to say just now? Oh, I've forgotten.

B: So it was like this. Well, Dinda's parents didn't get any approval from his father, you see.

A: Right.

C: I see.

B: And seeing how Bule's parents treat you, while my parents treat her like that …

A: Her parents first. Her father's parents towards her mother, you mean?

B: Her parents didn't get approval before they got married, from her father's side.

A: Right. While my boyfriend and I do get approval (is that what you mean)?

B: No, no, it's not like that. Don't you see? The thing is it's like, as if she's traumatised, you understand?

A: Oh, right, right.

C: Uh-huh.

B: So previously, when her parents got married her dad's side didn't approve of her mother.

A: I see.

B: Right then. And now she often hears from you about how Bule's parents regard you, doesn't she? But on the other hand she experiences how my parents regard her like this, you see.

A: Oh, I see.

B: And it's quite different. It seems (to her) that she doesn't get approval as well. And she's very emotional about it. And then, now that's my third point.

C: So you really didn't get approval?

B: No. My parents are really old-fashioned. That's what they're like.

A: It's not that they didn't get any approval, but .. well, that's how it is.

B: Right .. (My) parents …

C: What kind of obstacles did you have when Dinda came into your family. What difficulties did she have with your parents?

B: There weren't any. It's just that my parents are, how would you put it?

C: They weren't welcoming. I mean, not as welcoming as Bule's parents.

B: No, it's not that. You know how Bule's parents feel about Ninid, don't you?

C: Of course I know!

B: They're always taking her places, always phoning her, and so on. On the other hand, my parents never phoned her.

A: And she could see the comparison, Tess. (She thought,) 'How come Robbie's parents aren't like that to me, whereas Ninid (gets good treatment) like that?' That's what she thought.

B: That's how it was, so do you see now?

C: That's like the problem I have with my boyfriend. My parents are like Bule's parents but my boyfriend's parents are like, well, they aren't as bad as …

A: Hey, (pass me) another tissue.

C: your parents. They're still – only they're even less relaxed about it (than my parents). In fact …

B: Actually what we have to bear in mind now is that she can't blame my parents for that 100 percent.

C: That's right.

B: And why would that be?

A: Because no matter what, your parents still have a relationship with you.

C: Because they were born earlier.

B: No, no, it's not that. Why is it? Because Dinda didn't want to step into my house!

A: She didn't make the effort herself …

B: That's one thing.

A to get closer to your parents.

C: Sorry, What do you mean she didn't want to step into your house? Meaning she didn't want to come to your place at all?

B: She wouldn't even get out of the car, to be precise.

A: Wow, that's even harsher!

B: So, she didn't …

C: So for the four years you were together she wouldn't even get out of the car?

B: Earlier, when we began dating (she would) but the thing is, my mother says whatever she thinks. You know what I mean?

C: Uh'uh.

B: If she is talking to my friends (she'll say), 'Hey, what's this? You're so stupid,' and so on.

A,C: Uh-huh.

B: It's just like the way she talks to me.

C: Right. And then?

B: And then, one day when I bought food for her …

A: Bought for who? Dinda?

B: I bought food for myself and Dinda. And then I separated out the vegetables and threw them away. I don't like vegetables, you see. Dinda doesn't like vegetables either. And then after I'd done that my mum came around. (She said,) 'Why haven't you eaten the vegetables?' 'I don't like vegetables,' Dinda said. 'Oh. You're just as stupid as Robbie,' my mum said. I knew she was joking when she said that. But Dinda saw it differently. She was thinking, 'Even my own mum never speaks to me like that, she never calls me stupid.' But my mum did call her stupid. I said to her, 'Why should you take it to heart?' Now …

A: Your mother is certainly like that.

B: Right. Bule experienced that too (with my mother), but he didn't see it as a problem.

C: Maybe it's because Bule's a male, Rob.

B: Maybe. But I'd already told her that she was just joking. Well, after that she never wanted to come to my house again. She didn't want to get out of the car (and meet) my mum. That's the first thing. And second, if I wanted to go out with her on Saturday night and I wanted to bring my younger sister[131] along, she didn't like it.

A: Yes, right. [to waiter bringing food]

B: Make it tidy there at the side first, Nid. [talking about something on the dashboard of the car]

A: No need. (Do it) later.

B: Here, Tess? [offering her food]

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131 *adik* is here translated 'sister and *adik-adik* later is translated 'brother and sister'. Although the sex of the siblings is not indicated the speaker did have a younger brother and sister.

C: But that's yours.

B: Don't you want it?

C: Yes, but later.

B: Just take some when you want.

C: But how?

B: Pour it (onto your plate) if you want. And she never wanted to go out together with my brother and sister, you see.

A: Uh-huh.

B: I mean, I wanted to take my sister …

C: Can I have some?

B: Okey. I wanted to ask my sister to come along and her sister too.

A: Uh'huh.

B: Well, she never wanted to.

C: Thank you.

B: Right. That's the second thing. Ah, was it the fourth thing?

A: Wow, you've got so much (to say) finally, man!

B: Yes, that was the fourth.

C: But you never complained up till now about that in front of her?

B: I thought she'd change.

A: Right!

C: She won't, if you don't say anything.

A: That's true! Next time don't do that again, eh?

C: Yeah! That's what you're learning for.

B: Well, no, I won't (do that again).

A: Learn from experience.

Appendix A

Recordings and speakers in the study

Forty recordings were made for this study of Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian between 2000 and 2002. The texts were numbered [01] to [40]. Two texts were eliminated as unsatisfactory for the study in a number of ways, [01] and [39].[1] Most of the texts were interviews or conversations between three or four people, in one case five. Two of the texts were meetings. By chance no one between the ages of 34 and 46 was recorded except for several participants in one of the meetings [31] and two speakers aged 39 in one short text [02]. This provided a convenient opportunity to separate those recorded into 'younger' (20 to 34 years of age) and 'older' (46 years of age and above) groups. There are a number of linguistic correlates to the two groups.

Two conversations included speakers in both age groups. These were excluded from consideration where older and younger groups were separated, although used elsewhere. The texts are listed below in the order in which they were recorded. Information includes the type of text (conversation, interview or meeting), the number of speakers and their ages and the approximate number of words. The total number of words is a little more than 312,000.

[02] Conversation between five male university staff, both academic and administrative, aged between 39 and 49. Words: 2,000.

[03] Conversation between three people: female aged 23 (the recorder), female student aged 24, male student aged 27. Words: 9,700. (See §4.1)

[04] Interview with 23 year old male student. Words: 7,800.

[05] Conversation between four people: two females aged 23, one male aged 20 and one male aged 23, all students. Words: 4,800.

[06] Conversation between four people: female student aged 22, male student aged 23, male worker (recent university graduate) aged 24, female aged 23 (the recorder). Words: 9,300.

[07] Conversation between three females: a student aged 23, an English teacher aged 24, the recorder aged 23. Words: 13,700.

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[1] The first text recorded was in the manner of a test, although it will provide useful data for further studies.

[08] Conversation between three people: female student aged 23, male singer aged 23, the recorder aged 23. Words: 9,300.

[09] Conversation between three female university students all aged 23, including the recorder. Words: 12,300.

[10] Conversation between four people: male accountant aged 22, three female students aged 23, including the recorder. Words: 8,700.

[11] Conversation between three people all aged 23: male computer salesman, two female students including recorder. Words: 9,600.

[12] Interview with 24 year old male radio reporter. Words: 4,500. (See §4.2)

[13] Interview with 26 year old female ballet instructor and dancer. Words: 8,200. (See §4.3)

[14] Interview with 27 year old male bank officer. Words: 8,400.

[15a] Interview with 27 year old female boutique owner (wife of 15b). Words: 5,100.

[15b] Interview with 34 year old male boutique owner (husband of 15a). Words: 2,700.

[16] Interview with 25 year old female travel agent. Words: 8,600.

[17] Interview with 22 year old female student. Words: 7,500. (See §4.4)

[18] Interview with 25 year old male student. Words: 7,100.

[19] Interview with 47 year old female teacher. Words: 9,800. (See §4.5)

[20] Interview. Continuation of [19] several days later. Words: 2,400.

[21] Interview with 20 year old female student and shop assistant. Words: 5,500.

[22] Meeting between five academics aged between 26 and 70, four male, one female. Words: 7,500.

[23] Interview with 26 year old male marketing officer. Words: 8,300.

[24] Conversation between three people: female student aged 22, male student aged 23, female aged 23 (the recorder). Words: 8,100. (See §4.6)

[25] Interview with 23 year old male sales assistant. Words: 8,000.

[26] Conversation between 28 year old male lecturer, 23 year old male student, 23 year old female (recorder). Words: 18,300.

[27] Interview with 25 year old businessman. Words: 10,600.

[28] Interview with 48 year old female sociology researcher. Words: 11,400.

[29] Conversation between 47 year old woman, her 26 year old son and 24 year old daughter. Words: 4,100.

[30] Conversation between four people: females students aged 23 and 20, male student aged 22 and male radio announcer aged 29. Words: 4,600.

[31] Meeting between five academics aged between late 30s and late 40s, one male, four female. Words: 7,500.

[32] Interview with 24 year old female student. Words: 6,100.

[33] Interview with 29 year old English teacher. Words: 8,000.

[34] Conversation between 47 year old woman, her 23 year old daughter and the recorder. Words: 14,300.

[35] Interview with 24 year old female university student. Words: 8,300.

[36] Conversation between four university administration staff, one male, three female, aged in their forties. Words: 4,000.

[37] Conversation between three females, two university administrative staff, one librarian, two in their late forties, one aged 52. Words: 7,400.

[38] Interview with 48 year old female university lecturer. Words: 9,300.

[40] Interview with 51 year old male university lecturer. Words: 8,600.

Appendix B
Statistics: relative frequencies of H and L forms

Listing the number of occurrences of variants for each variable considered in the speech of individuals reveals the considerable amount of variation among different speakers of CJI. Often an individual's usage is very different from the average for the community as a whole, figures for which are given in consideration of the variables in Chapter 2. Selection of texts is discussed in §2.0.

In counting the number of instances of a variable an item was only counted once if it was repeated, as for instance, when a speaker was collecting his or her thoughts. Thus in the following passage *cuman* 'just, only' was counted just once:

(1) Hidup kita bener-bener harus dilimpahin ke musik semua gitu.
life our really must devoted to music all thus

Nggak bisa cuman, cuman, cuman buat PR gitu.
not can only only only for homework thus
Our lives really have to be fully devoted to music. It can't just be for homework.

For each text considered the number of occurrences of each variant is given, together with the total number of occurrences of the variable. The percentage of L variants is then given.

Table 1a: Frequency of *aja/saja* variants (§2.2.1)

	text	*aja*	*saja*	total	% L
conversations:	02	20	3		
	03	57	1		
	04	90	1		
	06	92	0		
	07	67	0		
	10	74	1		
	11	50	0		
	36	55	0		
		505	6	511	98.8

interviews:	13	34	1		
	15	59	2		
	16	28	18		
	17	23	3		
	19	58	2		
	21	28	0		
	23	47	0		
	35	55	0		
	40	69	0		
		401	26	427	93.9
meetings:	22	18	32		
	31	27	5		
		45	37	82	54.9

Table 1b: Frequency of *udah/sudah* variants (§2.2.1)

	text	*udah*	*sudah*	total	% L
conversations:	02	17	9		
	03	115	2		
	04	70	4		
	06	109	5		
	07	141	3		
	10	111	1		
	11	134	2		
	36	40	5		
		737	31	768	96.0
interviews:	13	98	1		
	15	78	2		
	16	45	20		
	17	28	10		
	19	143	46		
	21	110	2		
	23	67	2		
	35	176	2		
	40	58	0		
		803	85	888	90.4
meetings:	22	16	54		
	31	17	20		
		33	74	107	30.8

Table 2: Frequency of verbal suffixes (§2.7)

	text	*-in*	*-kan*	*-i*	total	*% -in*
conversations:	02	15	11	4		
	03	81	11	7		
	06	104	50	36		
	07	59	13	3		
	10	85	3	5		
	11	91	16	2		
	29	60	1	0		
	36	26	7	1		
	37	35	46	18		
		556	158	76	790	70.4
interviews:	04	97	34	7		
	13	85	25	8		
	15	71	23	2		
	16	62	85	14		
	17	31	146	38		
	19	73	125	16		
	21	51	7	1		
	23	88	44	11		
	40	70	35	7		
		628	524	104	1256	50.0
meetings:	22	4	151	59		
	31	29	103	29		
		33	254	88	375	8.8

Table 3: Frequency of passive type one without an agent (§2.9)

text	no agent	Ø-agent*	*oleh*	*sama~ama*	*-nya*	nom**	total	% no agent
younger conversations:								
03	106	4	0	7	1	1	119	89.1
07	68	4	2	5	3	1	83	81.9
09	69	2	0	7	2	3	83	83.1
10	56	3	0	5	0	1	66	84.8
	299	13	2	24	6	6	351	85.2
younger interviews:								
12	32	2	0	0	0	2	36	88.8
13	68	4	3	2	1	5	83	81.9
17	93	7	7	4	1	0	112	83.0
35	33	0	0	1	0	0	34	97.1
	226	13	10	7	2	7	265	85.3

older conversations:								
02	28	3	1	0	0	0	32	87.5
37	47	0	0	1	1	0	49	95.9
	75	3	1	1	1	0	81	92.6
older interviews:								
19	138	4	5	3	4	0	155	88.5
38	144	12	0	1	0	5	164	88.0
40	140	3	2	2	1	0	148	94.6
	422	19	7	6	5	5	467	90.4
meetings:								
22	108	1	13	0	0	0	122	88.5
31	146	3	10	1	1	0	161	90.7
	254						283	89.8

* 'Ø-agent' indicates an agent not preceded by preposition *oleh* or *sama ~ ama*.

** *-nya* indicates an agent; 'nom' indicates a verb nominalised by *-nya* (see §2.8.6).

Table 4: Frequency of words for agent preposition 'by' (§2.10.1)

NB: In some texts there was no equivalent to 'by'.

	text	*sama~ama*	*oleh*	total	% L
conversations:	02	0	1	1	
	05	0	4	4	
	06	11	0	11	
	07	5	2	7	
	08	3	2	5	
	09	7	0	7	
	10	5	0	5	
	11	2	0	2	
	24	4	0	4	
	26	8	1	9	
	29	3	0	3	
	30	1	0	1	
	34	6	0	6	
		55	10	65	84.6

interviews:	04	3	6	9	
	13	2	3	5	
	14	3	3	6	
	15	2	0	2	
	16	3	7	10	
	17	4	7	11	
	18	1	13	14	
	19	3	5	8	
	20	1	1	2	
	23	3	1	4	
	25	4	1	5	
	27	4	2	6	
	28	3	7	10	
	32	2	0	2	
	33	7	0	7	
	35	1	0	1	
	38	1	0	1	
	40	2	2	4	
		49	58	107	45.8
meetings:	22	0	13	13	
	31	1	10	11	
		1	23	24	4.2

Table 5: Frequency of *lagi/sedang* variants (§2.11.1)

	text	*lagi*	*sedang*	total	% lagi
conversations:	02	4	0	4	
	03	17	0	17	
	06	5	0	5	
	07	16	0	16	
	09	14	0	14	
	10	8	1	9	
	11	19	0	19	
	36	2	0	2	
	37	7	0	7	
		92	1	93	98.9

interviews:	04	3	1	4		
	12	12	1	13		
	13	10	0	10		
	15	4	1	5		
	16	7	0	7		
	17	5	1	6		
	19	1	2	3		
	35	13	0	13		
	40	10	0	10		
		65	6	71		91.5
meetings:	22	2	6	8		
	31	0	2	2		
		2	8	10		20.0

Table 6: Frequency of words for 'will, going to': (§2.11.3)

	text	*bakal*	*bakalan*	*akan*	total	% L
conversations:	02	0	0	6		
	03	4	0	4		
	06	13	1	13		
	07	10	3	4		
	09	2	0	3		
	11	0	1	1		
	37	1	0	10		
		30	5	41	76	46.1
interviews:	12	8	4	1		
	13	0	0	6		
	15	1	0	6		
	19	0	0	10		
	23	0	10	30		
	40	0	0	2		
		9	14	55	78	29.5
meetings:	22	0	0	54		
	31	0	0	23		
		0	0	77	77	0

Table 7: Frequency of words meaning 'not; no' (§2.4)

	text	*enggak*	*kagak*	*ndak*	*tidak*	total	% L
conversations:	02	39	3	1	3		
	03	206	6	0	8		
	06	287	1	0	5		
	07	265	4	0	5		
	08	250	0	1	1		
	09	343	10	1	0		
	10	275	8	0	3		
	11	245	2	0	6		
	36	88	1	5	1		
	37	209	1	10	16		
		2207	36	18	48	2309	97.9
interviews:	04	199	3	0	3		
	13	173	1	0	4		
	15	171	0	0	5		
	16	127	1	0	46		
	17	106	0	0	71		
	19	162	0	0	38		
	21	203	0	0	2		
	23	307	0	0	2		
	27	230	0	0	15		
	38	359	0	1	0		
	40	248	0	0	0		
		2285	5	1	186	2472	92.7
meetings:	22	69	0	7	85		
	31	91	1	4	60		
		160	1	11	145	317	54.3

Table 8: Frequency of first person singular pronouns (§2.13.1)

	text	*gua*	*gue*	*saya*	*aku/-ku*	total	% *gua~gue*
younger conversations:	03	119	75	9	5		
	06	270	22	2	6		
	07	456	15	10	3		
	10	273	3	1	15		
	11	463	11	0	7		
	27	33	7	0	97		
		1614	133	22	133	1902	91.8

younger interviews:	04	282	1	16	0		
	12	228	14	0	0		
	13	302	26	134	0		
	14	321	74	5	0		
	15a	2	1	0	1[1]		
	15b	0	0	123	0		
	16	1	0	177	0		
	17	39	301	7	0		
	18	102	6	31	0		
	21	0	0	13	287		
	23	1	164	0	0		
		957	587	506	288	2338	66.0
older conversations:	02	0	0	30	0		
	36	11	0	7	38/4		
	37	10	3	54	191		
		21	3	91	233	348	6.9
older interviews:	19	0	0	830	0		
	38	0	0	146	260		
	40	0	0	9	141		
		0	0	985	401	1386	0
meetings:	22	0	0	195	1[2]		
	31	0	0	84	10		
				279	11	290	0

Table 9: Frequency of words meaning 'just' (see also Table 1a) (§2.21)

	text	*aja*	*doang*	*saja*	total	% L
conversations:	02	20	1	3		
	03	57	4	1		
	04	90	4	1		
	06	92	10	0		
	07	67	14	0		
	10	74	10	1		
	11	50	12	0		
	36	55	1	0		
		505	56	6	567	98.9

[1] This speaker uses her own name, *Sandy*, 216 times as a pronoun substitute.

[2] One speaker uses *gua* three times in quotes, when telling what he would say in a particular imaginary situation.

interviews:	13	34	3	1		
	15	59	9	2		
	16	28	1	18		
	17	23	5	3		
	19	38	0	2		
	21	28	3	0		
	23	47	7	0		
	35	55	2	0		
	40	69	1	0		
		332	31	26	389	93.3
meetings:	22	18	0	32		
	31	27	0	5		
		45	0	37	82	54.9

Table 10: Frequency of words meaning 'only, just' (§2.22)

	text	*cuma*	*cuman*	*hanya*	total	% L
younger conversations:	03	3	6	0		
	05	4	11	0		
	06	24	13	3		
	07	18	42	1		
	08	15	2	1		
	09	22	10	2		
	10	16	2	1		
	11	21	2	1		
		123	88	9	220	95.9
younger interviews:	12	3	18	0		
	13	8	20	6		
	14	6	22	1		
	15	5	23	1		
	17	10	3	13		
	23	29	68	13		
	35	31	6	0		
		92	160	34	286	88.1
older conversations:	02	5	0	3		
	36	0	6	2		
	37	2	12	4		
		7	12	9	28	67.9

older interviews:	19	13	0	10		
	28	3	37	7		
	38	1	14	0		
	40	25	1	3		
		42	52	20	114	82.5
meetings:	22	5	6	18		
	31	4	7	12		
		9	13	30	52	42.3

Table 11: Frequency of words meaning 'very' (§2.23)

	text	*banget*	*amat*	*sekali*	*sangat*	total	% L variants
younger conversations:	03	45	4	3	0		
	06	36	1	1	1		
	07	56	1	5	0		
	09	72	3	2	0		
	10	66	6	1	1		
	11	41	3	1	1		
	24	11	0	1	0		
	30	17	0	1	0		
		344	18	15	3	380	95.3
younger interviews:	04	30	1	5	0		
	12	13	0	1	5		
	13	57	0	7	2		
	14	39	1	4	9		
	15	62	3	16	2		
	16	20	0	14	3		
	18	6	0	1	17		
	21	24	0	2	2		
	23	9	0	1	7		
	27	12	2	5	3		
		272	7	56	50	365	76.4
older conversations:	02	0	0	2	0		
	36	1	1	0	0		
	37	2	0	0	0		
		3	1	2	0	6	66.7
older interviews:	19/20	9	1	36	14		
	28	4	0	0	0		
	38	26	1	9	0		
	40	1	0	0	0		
		40	2	45	14	101	41.6

meetings:	22	1	0	2	4		
	31	3	0	16	17		
		4	0	18	21	43	9.3

Table 12: Frequency of words meaning 'soon, later' (§2.26)

	text	*entar*	*nanti*	total	% entar
younger conversations:	03	4	2		
	06	7	5		
	07	12	13		
	08	24	5		
	09	18	9		
	10	29	5		
	11	4	7		
	24	18	18		
	25	20	18		
		136	82	218	62.4
younger interviews:	12	2	0		
	13	0	8		
	15	1	22		
	16	11	8		
	17	0	0		
	18	1	2		
	24	20	18		
	32	0	12		
	35	7	16		
		42	86	128	32.8
older conversations:	02	0	2		
	36	5	13		
	37	2	8		
		7	23	30	23.3
older interviews:	19	2	9		
	38	3	20		
	40	0	6		
		5	35	40	12.5
meetings:	22	0	14		
	31	0	8		
		0	22	22	0

Table 13: Frequency of words meaning ‘how, in what way’ (§2.28)

	text	*gimana*	*bagaimana*	total	*% gimana*
conversations:	02	4	1		
	03	5	0		
	05	13	1		
	06	36	5		
	07	17	1		
	08	24	0		
	09	21	0		
	36	6	0		
	37	23	0		
		149	8	157	94.9
interviews:	04	28	5		
	13	10	2		
	14	8	0		
	15	44	0		
	16	37	0		
	17	8	6		
	18	5	10		
	19	4	11		
	38	46	0		
	40	25	0		
		215	34	249	86.3
meetings:	22	9	8		
	31	2	2		
		11	10	21	52.4

Table 14: Words meaning ‘indeed, certainly’ (§2.33)

	text	*emang*	*memang*	total	% L
younger conversations:	06	24	20		
	07	32	12		
	09	48	9		
	10	23	0		
	11	26	1		
		153	42	195	78.5

younger interviews:	12	5	6		
	13	5	6		
	14	8	4		
	15	9	37		
	16	1	55		
	17	8	9		
	35	62	11		
		98	128	226	43.4
older conversations:	02	25	28		
	36	2	3		
	37	4	23		
		31	54	85	36.5
older interviews:	19	1	12		
	38	15	26		
	40	6	5		
		22	43	65	33.8
meetings:	22	1	25		
	31	2	21		
		3	46	49	6.1

Table 15: Words meaning 'like, resembling' (§2.35)

	text	*kayak*	*seperti*	total	% L
conversations:	02	6	9		
	03	21	8		
	06	72	22		
	07	69	3		
	10	65	0		
	11	55	1		
	24	37	4		
	36	6	0		
	37	15	19		
		346	66	412	84.0

interviews:	04	40	6			
	13	15	5			
	15	22	32			
	16	24	25			
	17	14	40			
	19	11	16			
	21	21	0			
	23	66	9			
	38	32	0			
	40	27	4			
		272	137	409	66.5	
meetings:	22	16	33			
	31	9	27			
		25	60	85	29.4	

Table 16: Words meaning ‘want, desire’ (§2.36)

	text	*pengen*	*pingin*	*kepengen*	*kepingin*	*ingin*	total	% L
conversations:	03	2	0	0	0	0		
	05	11	0	0	0	1		
	06	9	0	0	0	0		
	07	21	0	1	0	0		
	08	4	0	0	1	0		
	09	2	0	0	0	0		
	10	3	0	0	0	0		
	11	10	0	0	0	0		
	24	4	0	0	0	0		
	34	6	0	3	6	0		
	36	0	0	0	0	0		
	37	5	0	1	2	1		
		77	0	7	8	2	94	97.9
interviews:	13	12	0	3	0	0		
	14	33	0	0	0	0		
	15	3	0	1	0	0		
	16	2	3	1	0	0		
	17	2	0	0	0	6		
	18	6	0	0	0	2		
	19	9	0	0	0	3		
	35	4	0	0	0	0		
	38	3	0	0	0	0		
	40	4	0	0	0	0		
		78	3	4	0	11	96	88.5

meetings:	22	0	0	0	0	2		
	31	0	2	0	0	7		
		0	2	0	0	9	11	18.2

Table 17: Words meaning 'give' (§2.37)

	text	*kasih*	*beri(kan)*	total	% L
younger conversations:	03	14	3		
	05	13	0		
	06	13	9		
	07	7	0		
	08	13	0		
	09	17	1		
	10	10	0		
	11	12	1		
	24	4	0		
		103	14	117	88.0
younger interviews:	12	9	0		
	13	4	0		
	14	9	1		
	15	19	0		
	16	9	16		
	17	2	13		
	18	2	14		
	21	7	0		
	23	6	0		
	27	2	5		
	33	12	0		
		81	49	130	62.3
older conversation:	02	1	1		
	36	7	1		
	37	0	3		
		8	5	13	61.5
older interview:	19	26	11		
	20	7	3		
	38	6	0		
	40	16	0		
		55	14	69	79.7
meetings:	22	1	8		
	31	3	29		
		4	37	41	9.8

Table 18: Words for 'say'

(The full table is given in §2.38)

Table 19: Words meaning 'talk, speak' (§2.39)

	text	*ngomong*	*bicara*	*berbicara*	total	*% ngomong*
conversations and interviews:	02	3	0	0		
	03	20	3	0		
	04	15	0	0		
	08	18	0	1		
	09	6	0	0		
	10	19	0	0		
	11	31	0	0		
	12	7	0	0		
	16	2	0	0		
	17	5	1	0		
	19-20	8	12	0		
	23	30	2	0		
	27	16	0	0		
	32	15	0	0		
	36	20	0	0		
	37	19	0	0		
	38	27	0	0		
	40	31	0	0		
		292	18	1	311	93.9
meetings:	22	4	5	5		
	31	9	11	6		
		13	16	11	40	32.5

Table 20: Words meaning 'big' (§2.40)

	text	*gede*	*besar*	total	% L
younger conversations:	03	8	3		
	06	9	1		
	07	10	3		
	08	4	0		
	09	6	0		
	10	14	0		
	11	11	0		
	24	0	1		
		62	8	70	88.6

younger interviews:	04	0	0		
	12	0	0		
	13	18	0		
	15	2	1		
	16	1	8		
	17	3	11		
	27	4	4		
	21	7	0		
	23	0	1		
	25	12	2		
	32	8	6		
	35	4	1		
		59	34	93	63.4
older conversations:	02	5	3		
	36	0	0		
	37	0	0		
		5	3	8	62.5
older interviews:	19	6	12		
	20	3	2		
	28	6	4		
	38	1	1		
	40	4	2		
		20	21	41	48.8
meetings:	22	0	4		
	31	2	20		
		2	24	26	7.7

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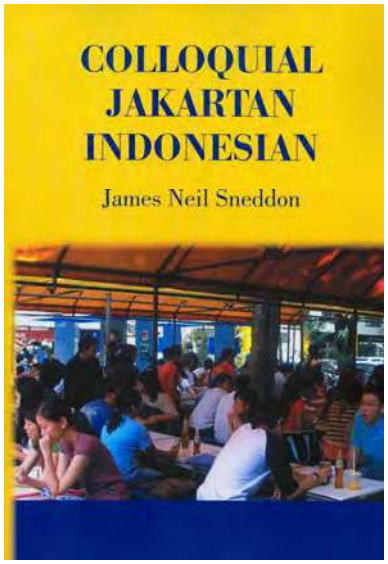

Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian
James Neil Sneddon
PL 581

This book aims to describe aspects of the Indonesian language as spoken by educated Jakartans in everyday interactions. This style of language is in many ways significantly different from the formal language of government and education, to the extent that it deserves separate consideration. While formal Indonesian has been the subject of a considerable amount of description very little attention has been paid to informal styles of the language. The variety described here, Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian, is the prestige variety of colloquial Indonesian and is becoming the standard informal style. The description and texts in following chapters are drawn from recordings of natural speech of educated people living in Jakarta.

While the book aims to inform those with a background in linguistics the needs of teachers and learners with little or no knowledge of linguistics is always borne in mind. The work thus does not consider theoretical linguistic issues nor use technical terms which would not be readily understood by most readers.

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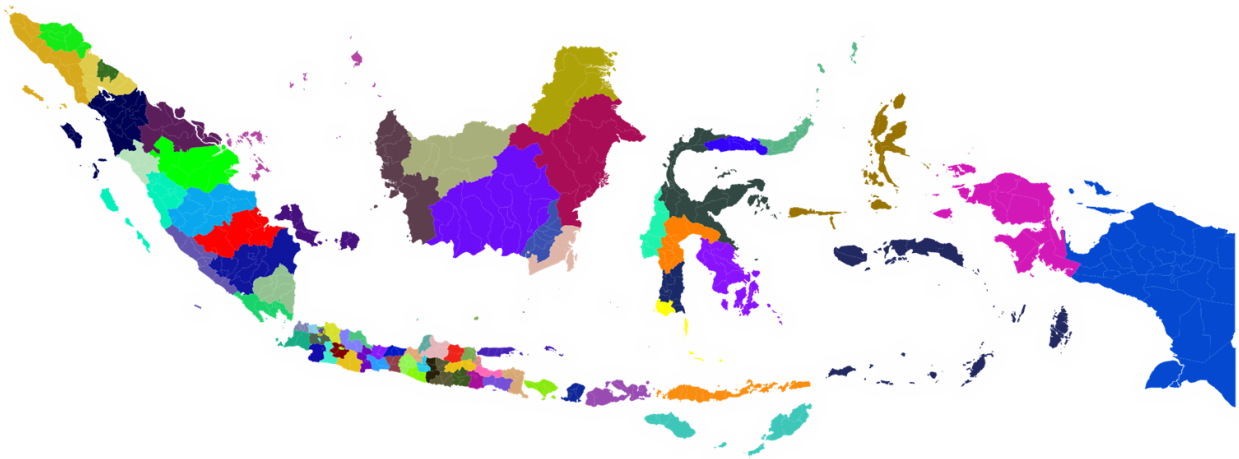

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